

Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta

Including the Cabinet of the
Asiatic Society of Bengal

Volume I

Part II: Ancient Coins of Indian Types

By

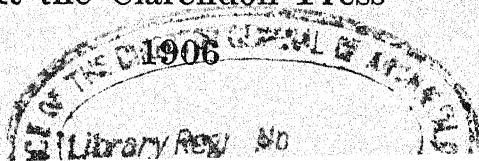
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Published for the Trustees of the Indian Museum

Oxford

At the Clarendon Press



HENRY FROWDE, M.A.
PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD
LONDON, EDINBURGH
NEW YORK AND TORONTO

ADVERTISEMENT

A SMALL separate impression of Part II is issued for the convenience of collectors and students specially interested in the classes of coins treated in this Part, who may not care to purchase the complete volume. The General Introduction, General Index, and complete Tables of Weights and Measures appear in that volume only. Here it may be noted that a millimetre is almost exactly $\frac{1}{25}$ th of an inch, or, in other words, one inch is very little more than 25 millimetres; and that ten English grains are equivalent to .648, almost two-thirds of a gramme. Weights are given in English grains, and measurements in decimals of an inch.

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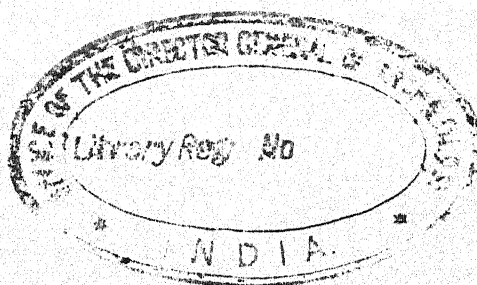
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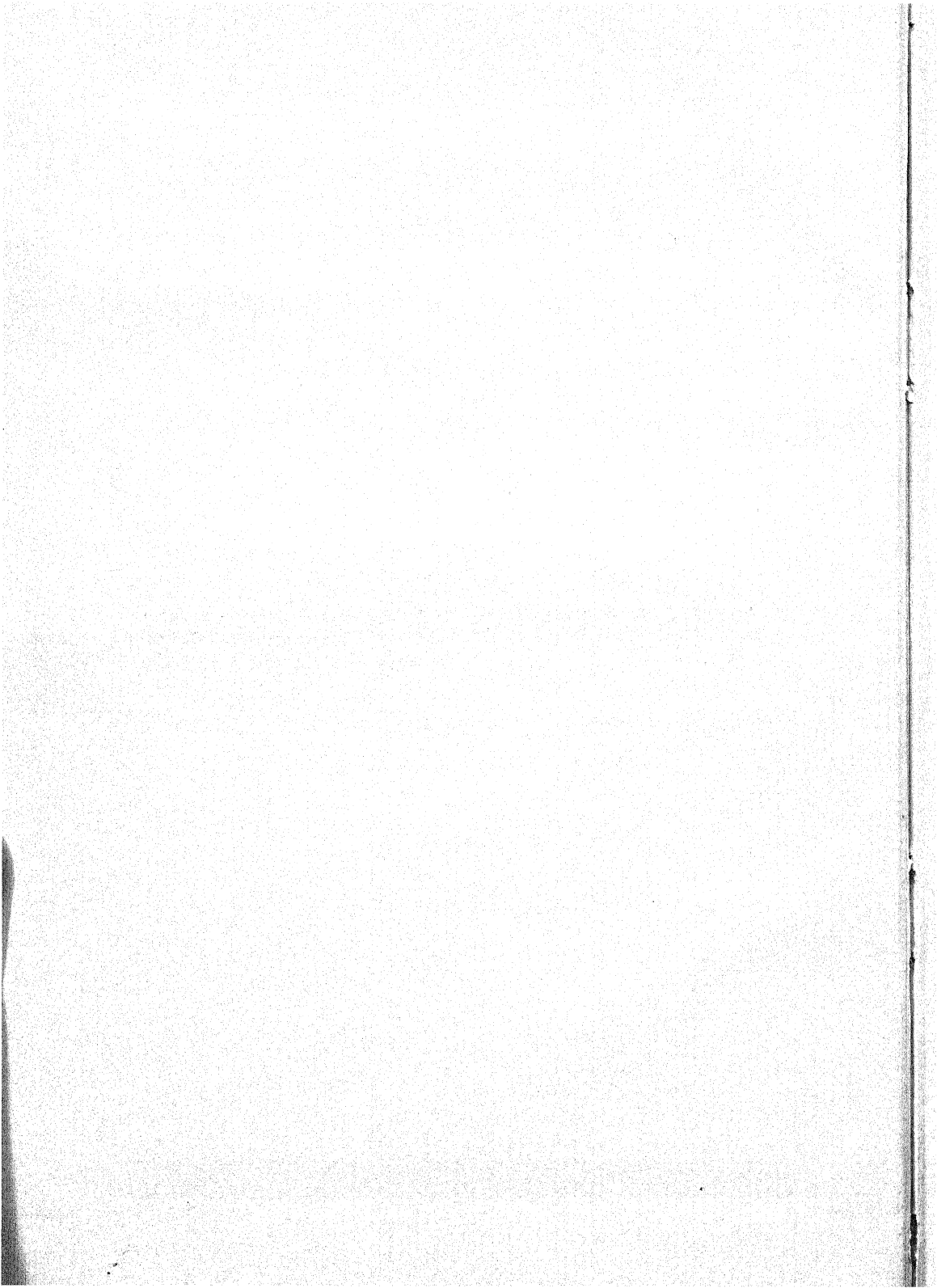
ABBREVIATIONS

Æ . . .	copper, including bronze.
Ṛ . . .	silver.
A. S. B. . .	Asiatic Society of Bengal.
Ḍ . . .	gold.
B. M. . .	British Museum.
Br. . .	Brāhmī script.
C. A. I. . .	Cunningham, <i>Coins of Ancient India</i> .
C. M. I. . .	ditto, <i>Coins of Mediaeval India</i> .
C. S. I. . .	Elliot, <i>Coins of Southern India</i> .
diad. . .	wearing diadem.
Ep. Ind. . .	<i>Epigraphia Indica</i> .
I. C. . .	Rapson, <i>Indian Coins</i> .
I. M. . .	Indian Museum, Calcutta.
Ind. Ant. . .	<i>Indian Antiquary</i> , Bombay.
J. A. S. B. . .	<i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</i> .
J. R. A. S. . .	„ „ <i>Royal Asiatic Society</i> .
Kh. . .	Kharoshthī script.
l. . .	left, of reader.
L . . .	lead.
mon. . .	monogram or similar mark.
obv. . .	obverse.
Proc. A. S. B. . .	<i>Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</i> .
r. . .	right, of reader.
R.-C. . .	from cabinet of Col. Rivett-Carnac, C.I.E.
Rep. or Reports . .	<i>Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India</i> (old series).
rev. . .	reverse.
sq. . .	square.
Z. D. M. G. . .	<i>Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i> .

PART II

ANCIENT COINS OF INDIAN TYPES





SECTION V

PUNCH-MARKED COINS

INTRODUCTION

ALTHOUGH the coins known as 'punch-marked' are rude and ugly, bear no legends, cannot be precisely dated, and, as a rule, are not assignable to any particular State or locality, they possess very special claims on the interest of the scientific numismatist, as documents in the early history of coinage. They also appeal to the anthropologist as authoritative records of the symbolism—religious, mythological, and astronomical—current throughout India for many centuries.

The term 'punch-marked' adopted by general consent means that the devices on the coins are impressed, not by means of a die covering the face (*flan*) of the coin, but by separate punches applied irregularly at various points on the surface. Naturally the impressions so effected often interfere with one another, and in cases where they are numerous the result is a confused jumble of symbols. Ordinarily, no difficulty is experienced in distinguishing the obverse from the reverse, the former being occupied by the larger symbols, commonly numerous, and the latter being sometimes blank, more often marked by a single minute device, and not infrequently marked by two or three comparatively inconspicuous devices. The cases in which both sides are crowded with symbols are rather rare. Examples will be found in Nos. 52–8 of this catalogue.

Mr. Theobald has been at the pains of enumerating more than three hundred different devices found on punch-marked coins. Examination of about one hundred and fifty specimens in detail resulted in proof that 'ninety-six symbols are confined to the obverse area, twenty-eight to the reverse, while fifteen symbols occur on both sides'. On the obverse the average number of symbols is about five, whereas on the reverse the average does not exceed two.

The devices are classified by Theobald under six heads, namely, (i) the human figure; (ii) implements, arms, and works of man, including the *stūpa* or *chaitya*, bow and arrow, &c.; (iii) animals; (iv) trees, branches, and fruit; (v) symbols connected with solar, planetary, or Sivite worship; (vi) miscellaneous and unknown.

The human figure rarely occurs, but the following catalogue offers good examples in Nos. 37-40 and 106 (Pl. XIX, 3, 12). The *chaitya* or *stūpa* is very common, and is one of the few symbols common to both obverse and reverse. Recent research has proved that the *stūpa* was used in ancient times by the Jains as freely as by the Buddhists; and it is no longer permissible to speak of this device as a 'Buddhist symbol'. Buddhism, however, was more widely diffused than Jainism during the period of the currency of punch-marked coins, and most of the *chaityas* on the coins probably were intended to have a Buddhist signification. The bow and arrow device is rare; as shown on No. 67 (Pl. XIX, 7) it is exactly the same as that seen on the Kolhāpur coins of the Āndhra dynasty issued between about 84 and 138 A.D. (Pl. XXIII). The punch-marked coin may be referred reasonably to the same period.

The animal devices are very curious and interesting. It is well known that up to comparatively recent times the rhinoceros was widely distributed in the Gangetic plain. The coins bear testimony to the fact that this great beast was a familiar object in ancient India. Three examples are recorded in the catalogue, Nos. 48, 58, and 59 (Pl. XIX, 5, 6). The last-mentioned coin was found in the Gayā District, Bihār. The elephant, of course, appears frequently. In most cases the representation is extremely crude, but the figure of the elephant saluting with uplifted trunk, as shown on a large oblong copper coin of very early date (No. 92, Pl. XIX, 10), is executed with considerable spirit.

The peacock, which performs a large part in Indian religious symbolism, is often seen, generally perched on a *stūpa* or *chaitya*. Nos. 24, 28, 31, 37 (Pl. XIX, 3), &c., offer illustrations. The long-necked crane or stork of No. 71 (Pl. XIX, 8) may be unique; the device is not included in Theobald's comprehensive list. The significance of the dog on the *stūpa* (No. 75) has been discussed by Thomas and Theobald. The representation of the sacred tank containing fish (No. 48, Pl. XIX, 5) is not very rare; and various fishes are often displayed independently, as on No. 10 (Pl. XIX, 1).

The collection now described does not seem to contain any example of the goat browsing on the vine, a device specially noted by Theobald; and the trees shown are usually conventional, as No. 18, &c. The palm-tree of No. 61 is rare, and seems to be intended to represent the coco-nut tree with its fruit (*Cocos nucifera*).

Solar symbols, including many varieties of wheel devices, as well as the *svastika* and *triskeles* or *triskelis*, are the most common of all, and, indeed, are seldom absent. The so-called 'taurine' symbol, a crescent on a circle, used in astrology to denote the zodiacal sign Taurus, is extremely common. Symbols of the astrological class rarely occur on the reverse, but examples are found in Nos. 21, 50, and 95. The figure resembling

the Greek *caduceus* is frequent on both obverse and reverse (Pl. XIX, 7, 11, 12).

The coinage of Europe, as is well known, is derived through Greece from Lydia, where the earliest coins were made about 700 B.C. by impressing small punches or stamps on thick globules or buttons of electrum, an alloy of gold and silver. Gradually the disk or flan was made flatter, and the ordinary modern coin was evolved. The Corinthians alone of the Greeks struck thin, flat coins from a very early time. The northern Indians evolved their coinage on different lines. The early standard of value was almost certainly copper, including alloys of that metal, and the most ancient Indian coins, I believe, are copper.¹

I suspect that the square and oblong punch-marked copper coins with blank reverse, Nos. 80-5 and 92-4 (Pl. XIX, 10), should be ascribed to Taxila in the Panjāb, and that they were the predecessors of the heavy cast coins contemporary with Agathokles and Pantaleon about 200 B.C. These punch-marked coins may be dated 300 or 400 B.C. The 'twenty oblong rectangular-shaped copper punch-marked coins of the most ancient type' obtained by Carlleyle at Bairānt in the Benares District may be even older. Three of these are said to have had 'single letters of an archaic type—one of them being apparently S, another L, and another J—punched into them'. The silver punch-marked coins found at the same site, which also yielded a number of bronze, copper, and flint relics, were very few in number (Cunningham, *Reports*, xxii. 114-16).

But the earliest Indian coins made of impure metal, containing about 80 per cent. of silver, are also extremely old, and it is possible, or even probable, that in some parts of the country the use of silver preceded that of copper. The solid ingots (Nos. 1, 2, 3), merely marked with three dots, must be very ancient. Unfortunately there is no record of the locality where they were found. No. 95 is a similar copper piece, marked with the dim device of a star or sun. The heavy bent bars of silver (Nos. 4-6), marked with simple symbols on the concave side and blank on the convex side, have an extremely archaic appearance, and may well go back to 500 or 600 B.C. In the ordinary series of punch-marked coins the earliest place must be assigned to those with blank reverse, at least to those of thin fabric. It is clear that the punch-marked coinage was a private coinage issued by guilds and silversmiths with the permission of the ruling powers. The numerous obverse punches seem to have been impressed by the different moneyers through whose hands the pieces passed, and the reverse marks may be regarded as the signs of approval by controlling authority. But the paucity of

¹ On this point I follow Thomas in preference to Cunningham. For southern coins derived from globules see Introduction, Section xx.

records as to the actual *provenance* of the various types hinders the attainment of well-founded conclusions on the subject.¹

In this place I cannot go into the theory of Indian coin weights, which has been very fully discussed by previous writers, and shall confine myself to the remarks necessary to explain the entries in the catalogue. The silver solid ingots range in weight from 21.5 to 26.7 grains, which may represent an original weight of about 30 grains (2 grammes). I do not see how to connect these figures with the standards commonly used.

The bent bars (Nos. 4-6) weigh from 165.8 to 174.1 grains. These may be 100 *rati* pieces (1 *rati* being taken as 1.825 grain).

It is well established that the ordinary silver punch-marked coins (*purāṇas* or *dharaṇas*) were struck to the scale of 32 *ratis*, and that the full normal weight consequently was about 58 grains, or $3\frac{3}{4}$ grammes. The heaviest in the catalogue is No. 31, 55.6 grains; and the lightest is No. 55, 35.7 grains. These coins remained in circulation for a long time, and stood wear well, the devices being incised, and not in relief. The rectangular and circular coins agree in weight. I believe that the rectangular coins, whether silver or copper, are, as a rule, earlier than the circular coins of similar style, the metal of which is more debased. The scale of weights of the copper coinage is quite distinct from that of the silver, and is based on the *paṇa* or *kārshāpaṇa* of 80 *ratis*, equivalent to about 146 grains, or nearly $9\frac{1}{2}$ grammes. The catalogue does not include any *paṇa* pieces, but $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, and $\frac{3}{4}$ *paṇas* may be recognized.

I now return to the subject of the mode of evolution of the Indian indigenous coinage. It is plain that the Indian moneyers started, not from a globule or button of fused metal, but from a hammered sheet, which was then cut into strips, and subdivided into lengths of approximately the desired weight, which was adjusted by clipping the corners when necessary. Nobody can examine a handful of rectangular silver punch-marked coins without seeing that this was the method of manufacture. The cutting of circular blanks from a metal sheet being a more troublesome process than snipping strips into short lengths, the circular coins are presumably a later invention than the rectangular ones. But the rectangular shape continued in use for centuries, and many individual circular coins must be earlier in date than many of the older form. Some of the copper pieces may have been made from cast blanks.

¹ Carlleyle's list of types found at Tambavati Nagari, north of Chitor, in Mewar or Udaypur, and at Nagar in Jaypur State, Rajputana, is of special value as a record of *provenance*. The 'caduceus' symbol occurs on the reverse of several of the Tambavati Nagari coins. Cunningham noticed it on coins from the eastern provinces in the neighbourhood of Benares.

A few definite facts help to fix the chronological position of the punch-marked silver coinage, which long served as the common currency of most of the States of ancient India, and was wonderfully uniform in weight and general style from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin.

Cunningham states on the authority of Sir E. C. Bayley that a few much worn punch-marked silver coins were found 'in company with hemi-drachms of Antimachus II, Philoxenus, Lysias, Antialkidas, and Menander' (*C. A. I.*, p. 54). This fact fixes the currency of the coins referred to in 200 B.C., or a little earlier; and it is quite consistent with the interpretation which recognizes punch-marked coins in the *signatum argentum* presented by Āmbhi (Omphis) to Alexander at Taxila in 326 B.C., as related by Quintus Curtius. A small punch-marked silver coin was found by Major Pearse in one of the very ancient earthen tumuli at Lauriya-Nandangarh (not Navandgarh) in the Champāran District, Tihūt (Cunningham, *Reports*, i. 70). A copper punch-marked coin found by Carlleyle at Masaon Dih or Joharganj in the Ghāzīpur District bore a legend in characters ascribed by him to the Aśoka period, the third century B.C. (*ibid.*, xxii. 103). No doubt the copper coins were in circulation along with the silver, although they were much less numerous, the need for small change being supplied by cowries, and to some extent by other forms of coinage. Of the silver coins 'a large hoard was discovered in September, 1807, at the opening of one of the ancient tombs known by the name of *pandu-kūlis* near the village of Chavadi paleiyam in Coimbatore, thus identifying the employment of this kind of money with the aboriginal race whose places of sepulture are scattered over every part of Southern India. And about four years earlier a pot full of the same pieces was dug up at Pennar, also in the Coimbatore province, among which was found a silver denarius of Augustus, which proves that they were current at the commencement of the Christian Era'.¹

Cunningham was disposed to date the most ancient coins of the class as early as 1000 B.C., but this estimate almost certainly is much in excess of the truth.

Mr. Loventhal was of opinion that in Southern India the use of punch-marked coins extended from the most remote times down to about 300 A.D. In Northern India, I doubt if they were much used after the Christian Era.

The coins now catalogued, 108 in number, are select specimens, picked out of about treble the number.

The literature on punch-marked coins and the associated subject of

¹ Letter from Mr. Garrow to Col. Mackenzie (1805) with coins of Augustus, *Mad. J. Lit. and Sc.*, vol. xix (N.S.), p. 227; as cited in *C. S. I.*, p. 45; Elliot, *Numismatic Gleanings* (reprint), p. 9.

Indian metrology is extensive. In addition to Rapson's *Indian Coins* and Cunningham's *Coins of Ancient India*, the student should not fail to consult Mr. Theobald's essay on the symbols,¹ Thomas's *Ancient Indian Weights* (Intern. Num. Or.), and Elliot's *Coins of Southern India*. The proof of the independent origin of coinage in India has been summarized by Prof. Rapson in *J. R. A. S.*, 1895, p. 869.

CATALOGUE

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
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Silver

A. Solid ingots

1	A.S.B.	Æ 26.7 .53 x .23 x .2	Three circular dots on one face.	Other faces blank.
2	„	Æ 21.5 .47 x .27 x .17	Ditto.	Ditto.
3	„	Æ 26.7 .53 x .25 x .2	Ditto.	Similar; but indistinct marks on reverse face.

B. Bent bars

4	A.S.B.	Æ 169 1.1 x .55	Three tridents on concave side.	Convex; blank.
5	„	Æ 165.8 1.12 x .55	Dim symbols representing the sun, wheel, or lotus.	Ditto; ditto.
6	„	Æ 174.1 1.22 x .55	A trident, and two solar symbols, as on No. 5.	Ditto; ditto.

C. Rectangular dominoes (PURĀṆAS or DHARĀṆAS)

(1) With blank reverse

7	A.S.B.	Æ nearly sq. 50.3 .78 x .73	Fish, sun, and other symbols.	Blank.
8	„	Æ 51 .8 sq.	Fish with spines, solar symbols, &c.	Ditto.
9	I.M.	Æ 49 .78 sq.	Elephant, humped bull, (?) hare, &c.	Ditto.
10	A.S.B.	Æ 48 .85 triangular	Humped bull (or cow), fishes, sun, 'taurine' symbol, &c.	Ditto (Pl. XIX, 1).

¹ 'Notes on some of the Symbols found on the Punch-marked Coins of Hindustan, and on their relationship to the archaic symbolism of other races and distant lands,' by W. Theobald, M.R.A.S. (*J. A. S. B.*, vol. lix, part i, pp. 181-268, Pl. VIII-XI).

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
11	A.S.B.	Æ 50 1.25 × .7 oblong	One-horned rhinoceros, solar symbols, square tank with fish, &c.	Ditto.
12	"	Æ 51 1 × .55 oblong	Elephant, (?) hare, (?) scorpion, &c.	Ditto.
13	"	Æ 51 1.05 × .25 oblong	Two animals, solar symbol, &c.	Ditto.
14	"	Æ 54 .75 × .55 oblong	Thicker type, with sharply cut edges; solar symbol, &c.	Ditto; from Gayā District, Bihār.
15	"	Æ 51 .75 × .65 oblong	Similar in type to No. 14; fish with spines; solar symbol, &c.	Ditto; from Vizagapatam District, Madras.
16	I.M.	Æ 50.6 .64 × .6 nearly sq.	Similar in type to No. 14; elephant, caduceus symbol, solar symbol, tree.	Ditto, except for two very faint marks.

(2) *With one mark on reverse*

17	A.S.B.	Æ 54.9 .65	An animal, solar symbol, &c.	Crescent, &c., in small incuse (Pl. XIX, 2).
18	"	Æ 49 .65	Sun, tree, &c.	Crescent in small incuse.
19	"	Æ 53 .77 × .7	Sun, (?) tree, &c.	Ditto; from Gayā District.
20	I.M.	Æ 52.3 .65	Taurine symbol, &c.	Bull's head in small incuse.
21	A.S.B.	Æ 54.8 .6	Solar symbols, &c.	Sun or lotus.
22	I.M.	Æ 48.5 .7 × .52	Circles, &c.	Nearly the same.
23	"	Æ 51 .58	Square in four compartments with symbols enclosed, caduceus, &c.	Obscure.
24	A.S.B.	Æ 45 .62	Solar symbols, &c.	Crested bird (peacock) with outspread tail perched r. on a <i>chaitya</i> .
25	I.M.	Æ 51 .62	Solar and 'taurine' symbols, &c.	Similar, but <i>chaitya</i> lower.
26	A.S.B.	Æ 54 .7 × .52	<i>Chaitya</i> , tree, &c.	Obscure.
27	I.M.	Æ 52.7 .65 × .47	Solar symbol, <i>chaityas</i> , &c.	Peacock perched on <i>chaitya</i> , as No. 24.
28	"	Æ 52 .55 × .47	Solar symbol, (?) steel-yard, &c.	Peacock perched, as No. 25.
29	A.S.B.	Æ 41.3 .56	Nearly identical with No. 28.	Ditto; very light.
30	"	Æ 53.5 .68 × .6	Ditto.	Ditto; full weight.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
31	A.S.B.	At 55.6 .75 x .6	Solar symbol, <i>chaitya</i> , crested bird (peacock), as on rev., &c.	As No. 30.
32	I.M.	At 49.7 .56 x .5	Solar symbol, <i>chaitya</i> , &c.	<i>Chaitya</i> only.
33	A.S.B.	At 47.9 .65 x .6	Triskeles, caduceus, animal, &c.	Caduceus.
34	I.M.	At 48.8 .68 x .6	Caduceus, a solar symbol, &c.	Ditto.
35	"	At 37.5 .67	Caduceus, solar symbols, <i>chaitya</i> , &c.	Ditto; very light weight, although in fairly good condition.
36	"	At 52.2 .75 x .65	Caduceus, solar symbols, 'taurine.'	Ditto; normal weight.
37	"	At 52.3 .65 x .5	Three human figures in a row; ¹ above, <i>chaitya</i> with peacock perched on it, and a rectangular figure.	<i>Chaitya</i> only (Pl. XIX, 3).
38	"	At 52.2 .77 x .5	Three human figures in a row; the symbols above are uncertain.	Peacock on <i>chaitya</i> , as No. 24.
39	A.S.B.	At 42 .66 x .55	Three human figures in a row; above, bird on <i>chaitya</i> , steelyard, &c.	Ditto.

(3) *With two marks on reverse*

40	I.M.	At 52.7 .65 x .55	Three human figures standing in a row; other obscure symbols.	Indescribable symbols (? plated).
41	"	At plated 51.3 .75 x .7	<i>Chaitya</i> , a solar symbol, caduceus, &c.	A circle and obscure mark. (This coin is actually copper or bronze, with traces of plating. ²)
42	A.S.B.	At 49 .75 x .65	Elephant and other animals, sun.	A (?) man or (?) monkey, and (?) bird.
43	"	At 51.2 .67 x .55	Solar symbols, elephant, &c.	Symbols obscure, and perhaps more than two.
44	"	At 45.7 .65 x .6	Sun, tree, caduceus, antelope or gazelle.	<i>Chaitya</i> with peacock on top, animal, and perhaps another mark.
45	"	At 53.4 .6 x .55	Standing monkey, caduceus, tree, &c.	Caduceus and obscure symbol (Pl. XIX, 4).
46	"	At 51.8 .55 x .5	Sun, caduceus, &c.	Bird, and an obscure symbol.
47	"	At 43.6 .85 x .65	Elephant, sun, &c.	Star or sun, and another obscure mark.

¹ A man and two women (Theobald).² Plated punch-marked coins are not uncommon.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
(4) <i>With three marks on reverse</i>				
48	A.S.B.	Æ 51.3 1.11 × .7	Two different solar symbols ¹ , a one-horned rhinoceros, square tank with fishes, (?) lotus-bud ² , and tree.	Three obscure, ill-defined marks (Pl. XIX, 5).
49	I.M.	Æ 52.5 .79 × .65	Solar symbol, elephant, &c.	Two different suns, and a third obscure symbol.
50	"	Æ 51.5 .73 × .6	Triskeles in oval, &c.	<i>Chaitya</i> , fish, and sun or star.
51	A.S.B.	Æ 52.5 .55 × .5	Two different suns, caduceus, tree, &c.	Traces of bird, and two other dim marks.

(5) <i>With numerous marks on reverse</i>				
52	I.M.	Æ 55 .6	<i>Chaitya</i> , solar symbols, elephant, &c.	Sundry obscure symbols (plated).
53	"	Æ 52.8 .8	<i>Chaitya</i> , solar symbols, humped bull or cow, (?) hare, &c.	Tree or branch; several obscure symbols, one perhaps being a form of <i>stūpa</i> .
54	A.S.B.	Æ 36 .92 × .6	Elephant, <i>chaitya</i> , solar symbols, &c.	Crowded with obscure symbols.
55	I.M.	Æ 35.7 .8 × .57	Four solar symbols, animal, &c.	Confused lines and dots.
56	"	Æ 40.2 .87 × .65	Lotus, and sundry confused symbols.	Ditto.
57	A.S.B.	Æ 48.3 .83	Several solar or wheel symbols of different kinds, (?) lotus-bud, &c.	Several suns or wheels, a (?) <i>stūpa</i> in enclosure, &c.
58	"	Æ 45.7 .93 × .8	(?) Plan of <i>stūpa</i> in enclosure, <i>chaitya</i> of three arches, &c.	One-horned rhinoceros, sun, &c.

D. *Roughly circular or oval (PURĀṆAS or DHARĀṆAS)*

(1) <i>With blank reverse</i>				
59	A.S.B.	Æ 51.8 .9	Rhinoceros (one-horned), solar symbols, &c.	Blank; from Gayā District, Bihār (Pl. XIX, 6).
60	"	Æ 48.6 .95	Solar symbols, &c.	Blank.
61	"	Æ 50.3 .8	Elephant, palm-tree, solar symbols, &c.	Ditto.
62	I.M.	Æ 51.6 .8 × .7	<i>Chaitya</i> , tree in railing, solar symbols.	Ditto.
63	"	Æ 49.3 .8	Bull or cow, (?) horse, solar symbol, &c.	Ditto.
64	"	Æ 53.7 .75	Bull or cow, solar symbols, &c.	Ditto.

¹ One of these solar symbols is of the Taxilan type, crescents alternating with broad arrow-heads attached to a central boss.

² 'A silurid fish, or skate (?)' (Theobald). I am doubtful as to the meaning of the symbol, which recurs on No. 57.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
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(2) *With one mark on reverse*

65	A.S.B.	Æ 49.5 .8 × .75	Solar symbols, animal, <i>chaitya</i> , &c.	Uncertain; from Vizagapatam District, Madras.
66	"	Æ 52 .68	Solar symbol, four fish in a tank, &c.	(?) A fish; thicker fabric.
67	"	Æ 47.3 .71	Solar symbols, caduceus, square in four compartments, bow and arrow, as on Āndhra coins of Kolhāpur.	Uncertain; thick like No. 66 (Pl. XIX, 7).
68	"	Æ 46 .67	Solar symbols, 'taurines,' &c.	Caduceus; ditto.
69	"	Æ 51.4 .63	Solar symbols, caduceus, &c.	(?) 'Taurine'; ditto.
70	I.M.	Æ 51.9 .68 × .57	Ditto, ditto, animal.	<i>Chaitya</i> ; ditto.
71	"	Æ 50 .62 × .65	Long-necked bird (crane or stork) standing l., sun r.	Indistinct; ditto (Pl. XIX, 8).

(3) *With two or more marks on the reverse*

72	I.M.	Æ 52.5 .95	Animal, tree, solar symbols, &c.	Two indistinct marks.
73	"	Æ 47.8 .9 × .73	Solar symbol, bird, &c.	Elephant, (?) hare, star.
74	A.S.B.	Æ 46.2 .93 × .8	Elephant, bull or cow, solar symbol, <i>chaitya</i> , &c.	Tree in railing, &c.
75	"	Æ 50.2 .95 × .85	<i>Chaitya</i> with dog on summit, snake, solar symbols.	<i>Chaitya</i> , tree, bird, &c.
76	"	Æ 39.2 1.01 × .78	Solar symbols, fish, &c.	Confused mass of symbols, including St. Andrew's cross in square.
77	"	Æ 46.5 .83 × .78	Solar symbols, and an object like a sword-hilt, humped bull or cow.	<i>Chaitya</i> , tree, &c.
78	I.M.	Æ 51 .83 × .78	Head of elephant, (?) plan of <i>stūpa</i> in square, solar symbols.	A curious pattern of three concentric curves, solar symbol, &c.
79	"	Æ 48.3 .65 × .57	Two solar symbols, &c.	Fish, and indistinct mark; thicker fabric.

*Copper**A. Approximately square (? of Taxila)*(1) *With blank reverse*

80	I.M.	Æ 81.4 .7	Sun with many rays, and (?).	Blank; thick, massive fabric.
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Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
81	I.M.	Æ 64.4 .73	Bull or cow l., with symbol composed of circle surrounded by four crescents, nearly the Taxilan symbol of <i>C. A. I.</i> , Pl. II.	Blank; less thick.
82	„	Æ 71.6 .72	'Taurine' in incuse.	Ditto; ditto.
83	A.S.B.	Æ 78.6 .7	Two objects shaped like 'merry-thought' bones, side by side, a form of (?) 'taurine'.	Ditto; massive (Pl. XIX, 9).
84	„	Æ 41 .6	Bird walking l., symbol as on No. 81.	Ditto; not so thick.
85	„	Æ 36.4 .57	Solar symbol, and (?).	Ditto; ditto.

(2) *With a mark or marks on reverse*

86	I.M.	Æ 38.2 .62	Solar symbols, <i>chaitya</i> , and bull.	Two indistinct marks.
87	A.S.B.	Æ 45 .67	Sun, and confused symbols.	<i>Chaitya</i> ; worn, rounded at corners.
88	„	Æ 30.7 .58	Triskeles, &c., in incuse.	(?) Horse; worn.
89	„	Æ 34.6 .55	Uncertain.	An indistinct pear-shaped depression.
90	„	Æ 44.2 .55	Ditto.	Ditto.
91	I.M.	Æ 26.3 .5	Ditto.	<i>Nandipada</i> symbol, &c., in incuse.

B. Distinctly oblong(1) *With blank reverse*

92	A.S.B.	Æ 104.6 .85 × .75	Elephant with uplifted trunk, <i>svastika</i> , &c.	Blank (Pl. XIX, 10).
93	„	Æ 95 .9 × .65	Two 'taurines'.	Ditto.
94	„	Æ 42.5 .6 × .4	Sun, (?) animal.	Ditto.

(2) *With a mark or marks on reverse*

95	A.S.B.	Æ 72.5 .8 × .3 × .1	A dim rayed sun or star.	'Taurine.' (This piece is an ingot.)
96	I.M.	Æ 107 .9 × .75	Quadruped moving to l.	'Ujjain' or 'Mālava' symbol, dim. (This looks like a coin of Eran.)
97	„	Æ 41.8 .7 × .5	Solar symbols, tree or branch, &c.	Two indistinct marks.
98	A.S.B.	Æ 30 .5 × .4	Horned animal r. (?) <i>Ovis ammon</i> .	Ditto.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
99	I.M.	Æ 49.6 .5 x .4	Sun, and (?) monkey.	Double 'taurine' or (?)thunderbolt, and (?) dagger; thick, neatly made.
100	"	Æ 110.7 .6 x .5 x .2	Solar symbol of concentric rings with dots outside.	Obscure marks; a 'dumpy pice' with convex obv., which may be modern.

C. Circular

101	A.S.B.	Æ 57 .55	Lion with tail upraised, solar symbol.	Caduceus, &c., dim; about .1 thick (? of Taxila).
102	"	Æ 77 .6	Sun lightly engraved on surface; tree, and two other symbols in three small incuses.	'Ujjain symbol', and a sinking; about .1 thick. (Nos. 102-8 seem to come from Ujjain or the neighbourhood.)
103	I.M.	Æ 61.8 .6	Solar symbols, tree in railing, &c.	Caduceus in one incuse, and 'Ujjain symbol' in another.
104	"	Æ 62.8 .63	Similar.	Ditto (Pl. XIX, 11).
105	"	Æ 74.3 .62	Similar.	Ditto.
106	"	Æ 28 .55	Human figure with staff or sceptre, bird (peacock), and solar symbol, each in an incuse.	Ditto, but only the caduceus clear (Pl. XIX, 12).
107	"	Æ 19 .5 x .4	Convex, covered by a lotus or sun.	'Ujjain symbol.'
108	"	Æ 44.2 .5	Tree in railing, and other symbols defaced.	Caduceus and 'Ujjain symbol'; thick.

SECTION VI

LOCAL COINS OF NORTHERN INDIA

INTRODUCTION

THE four groups of coins described in this Part have been classed together as being severally assignable to fairly definite localities in Northern India. The coins of each group are found predominantly in the districts named, and are not common elsewhere. The first definite step in such localization of the ancient coinages was taken by the publication in 1891 of *Coins of Ancient India* by Sir Alexander Cunningham, the greatest Indian numismatist since James Prinsep. Sir Alexander's unique experience extending over considerably more than half a century enabled him to accumulate a mass of knowledge, both general and special, concerning all classes of Indian coins, which nobody can hope to rival. Although he published comparatively few details about the *provenance*, or find-spots, of individual coins, his general statements on the subject are of the highest value. His announcement, for instance, that all the coins figured in Plate IX of the work above referred to were obtained at Ajodhyā, furnishes a secure basis for the classification of many pieces which would otherwise embarrass the numismatist. In the same way the assignment of the other classes of coins treated in this section to Avanti, Kosam, and Taxila respectively rests primarily upon Sir Alexander Cunningham's unequalled personal knowledge of the distribution of Indian coins. As Professor Rapson has pointed out, the hope of further advance in our knowledge of the ancient currencies of India depends largely on recognition of the local limits of each class of coin. It is very unfortunate that the recorded information about the find-spots of coins is so scanty, but it is some satisfaction to be able to assign even a few groups to their proper local position. Coins of copper, including bronze of sorts, do not, as a rule, wander very far from their place of issue, and, inasmuch as nearly all the ancient Indian coins may be classed under the heading 'copper', evidence of their *provenance* goes a long way towards determining approximately the locality of their mints.

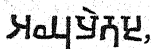
AJODHYĀ

The ancient city of Ajodhyā on the Ghāghrā (Gogra) river to the east of the province of Oudh is famous in Hindū legend as the capital of Rāma, but is now a comparatively unimportant town, except as a place of pilgrimage. It has been overshadowed, and, to a large extent, replaced by the modern city of Faizābād (Fyzabad), N. lat. 26° 46' 45'', E. long. 82° 11' 40'', a few miles distant, built in no small degree from the materials of Rāma's capital. Coins obtained at Fyzabad may be considered as coming mostly from Ajodhyā. The ancient history of Ajodhyā is lost, and the attempts of the local Brahmans to supply the loss are worthless. No independent record exists of any of the Rājās whose coins are described in the following pages, and we can only guess their age by considering the style of the coins and the script of the legends. Cunningham held that the most ancient coins, those of Dhanadeva and Visākhadeva, are 'certainly not older than the second century B.C.', and this determination may be accepted, so far as the inscribed coins are concerned. Of course many of the punch-marked and cast coins without legends may be much older. The coins of both Visākhadeva and Dhanadeva were simply cast in moulds, and evidently are of much the same date. Either prince may be regarded as the predecessor of the other. The coins, Nos. 8-11, doubtfully ascribed to Śiva-datta, are also cast; as are the curious little pieces, Nos. 12 and 13 (Pl. XIX, 14), exhibiting the fish, *svastika*, 'taurine,' and an object which seems to me to be intended for a steelyard balance, but is described by Cunningham as an axe.

The fine coins of Kumuda-sena (Nos. 14, 15, Pl. XIX, 15) were first collected and described by Colonel Rivett-Carnac, C.I.E., as noted in the catalogue. Professor Rapson, when describing a third specimen belonging to Mr. H. Nelson Wright, now in the British Museum, erroneously supposed it to be unique and unpublished (*J. R. A. S.*, 1903, p. 287). The closely related coin of Aja-varma (No. 16 of catalogue) is at present unique, so far as I know.

I have ventured to use the designation 'cock and bull' series for the well known die-struck Mitra coins of Ajodhyā, because the name is exactly descriptive and convenient for citation. The specimens catalogued, unfortunately, are not very good. The name of Deva-mitra (No. 28, Pl. XIX, 18) is new. The reading on the coin itself is certain. I see no reason for believing that these 'cock and bull' Mitra coins of Ajodhyā were issued by the dynasty which struck the very different series with deep incuse on the obverse, assigned by Cunningham to Pañchāla. The mere fact that the Rājās who struck both series of coins had names ending in *-mitra* is no sufficient warrant for holding that they

all belonged to a single 'Mitra dynasty'. Nor is there any sound reason for identifying the Rājās who issued the incuse coins with the Śunga dynasty of the Purāṇas. The Pañchāla coins will be treated in Section VIII.

I regret that I am unable to agree with Professor Rapson in his reading of the name on the coins of Ayu-mitra of the 'cock and bull' type. 'The inscription on these coins,' he observes, 'seems not to be *Suya-*, *Saya-*, or *Ayu-mitasa*, each of which readings has been suggested, but almost certainly *Āyyamitrasa* (i.e. *Āryamitrasya*). The description of this coinage given in *Indian Coins* (Pl. IV, 3), should probably be corrected accordingly; but it must be borne in mind that the letters *a* and *su* at this period [*scil.*? 2nd or 1st century B. C.] are very easily confused' (*J. R. A. S.*, 1900, p. 100). I have examined many of these coins in much better preservation than those now catalogued, and am convinced that the true reading is *Ayu* (or possibly *Ayū*). The form of initial *A* on these 'cock and bull' coins is quite distinct from *sa*. I doubt if *su* occurs. It seems to me absolutely impossible to read the first word in the legend of Pl. XIX, 17 as *Āyya*. The legend is , and I do not see how the *y* with the long tail can be read as double *y*. The *u* is formed in the ordinary way by the prolongation downwards of the vertical stroke of the *y*. I do not see any reason for reading *Ā*. Of course there is a difficulty in accepting and explaining a non-Sanskrit word like *Ayu*, but we must take the legend as it stands. I am disposed to think that the 'cock and bull' coins of Ajodhyā are not of such early date as has been supposed, and that they may well be as late as the second century A. D. Mr. Carlleyle regarded Ayu-mitra as the latest of the dynasty, 'as the letters of the legend belong to the later Gupta period' (*J. A. S. B.*, 1880, part i, p. 27); but I do not think the coins are later than 150 A. D., and they may be earlier.

AVANTI

These coins, described by Cunningham under the name of Ujjain, are better referred to the country Avanti, of which Ujjain (lat. 23° 11' 10" N., long. 75° 51' 45" E.) was the most notable city. They come not only from Ujjain itself, but from Eran, Besnagar, and other towns of Avanti. Professor Rapson has suggested that the so-called 'Ujjain symbol' of the cross and balls would more accurately be named the 'Mālava symbol', and there is no doubt that the proposed term would be the more accurate, but I have thought it better to retain the more familiar expression.

The legend on No. 27 (Pl. XX, 3), which seems to read *Runamisa* or *Runamāsa*, is puzzling. The two-horned rhinoceros on No. 28 is interesting. It is very curious to notice how the devices used on the punch-marked coins are combined on the dies of the Ujjain coins,

the animals and symbols characteristic of the earlier series being repeated on the later. But the two-horned rhinoceros is represented only on No. 28. The animal depicted on the punch-marked coins and on an Ujjain coin in Mr. Theobald's cabinet (*J. A. S. B.*, 1890, part i, p. 218) is single-horned, either *R. indicus*, or the lesser species, *R. Sondaicus*, the range of which extended to the Panjāb as late as the time of Bābar.

KŌSAM

The catalogue includes only four coins which can be referred with certainty to the ancient city of Kōsam on the Jumna, about thirty miles south of west from Allahabad, which is recognized by the Jains as Kauśāmbī, but undoubtedly is not the Buddhist Kauśāmbī of the Chinese pilgrims in the fifth and seventh centuries A. D. (*J. R. A. S.*, 1898, p. 503). The most ancient piece evidently is the circular cast coin No. 4, which has been known for a long time. Cunningham possessed seven specimens, six of which came from Kōsam, and the seventh from Bithā, not far distant. These coins may be assigned to the second or third century B. C.

Bahasati-mitra (Brihaspati-mitra) is inaccurately called Bahasata by Cunningham. Fifteen of his coins are in the Lucknow Provincial Museum, of which nine were excavated at Kōsam in 1887, and six at Rāmnaḡar (Ahichhatrā) in Rohilkhand in 1891. The genealogy given in an inscription at Pabhosā near Kōsam shows that the grandfather of Bahasati-mitra was King Bhāḡavata, son of Vamḡapāla, king of Adhichhatrā or Ahichhatrā. The dynasty at Kōsam is thus proved conclusively to have been a branch of that of Adhichhatrā, and the occurrence of Bahasati-mitra's coins at both Kōsam and Rāmnaḡar is explained (see *Ep. Ind.*, ii. 243). The late Mr. Rodgers had two small brass coins (diam. .7 and .55) of the Northern Satrap type with the imperfect legend *Baha-* in early characters, which possibly may have been another issue of the Bahasati-mitra of Kōsam and Ahichhatrā. The Kōsam coins of Jeṡha-mitra made known by Cunningham also are related to the Northern Satrap series. During one visit to Kōsam Cunningham obtained sixteen coins of Bahasati-mitra, one of Aśvaghosha, three of Jeṡha-mitra, and two of Deva-mitra (*Reports*, x. 4).

The coins of this Deva-mitra have not been published, so far as I know, and I cannot say whether or not he was identical with the Deva-mitra of the Ajodhya 'cock and bull' type (Pl. XIX, 18). I doubt if the 'cock and bull' type coins ever occur as far west as Allahabad. They are frequently found in Oudh, Gorakhpur, and Bastī.

The coin of Pavata (Pārvata) is new. The only other known specimen, formerly in my cabinet, is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

TAXILA

The coins of the great city of Taxila, the ruins of which are traceable at Shāhdheri and other villages near Hasan Abdāl, and not very far from Rāwalpindi, in the N.W. Panjāb, have been well described by Cunningham, *C. A. I.*, Pl. II, III. Few illustrations, therefore, are given in the plates of this work. The massive rectangular pieces with blank reverse manifestly are the most ancient. They must be earlier than the coins struck with a die on both obverse and reverse, while the latter must be prior to the coins of Agathokles and Pantaleon (about 190–180 B.C.) which are Hellenized imitations of the Taxilan double-die coins. The single-die pieces may be assumed to begin not later than 350 B.C. The varieties are numerous, so that they must have continued in use for a long time. The circular coins, both massive and thin, with blank reverse, may be a little later than the rectangular ones. The legend *Vaṭasvaka* on No. 13 has been well explained by Bühler as a tribal name, equivalent to Sanskrit *Vaṭāśvakāḥ*, meaning the Aśvaka tribe of the *vaṭa* or fig-tree clan. Similarly the Audumbara tribe was named after the *udumbara* fig-tree, *Ficus glomerata* (*Ind. Stud.*, No. III, Wien, 1895).

The coins with specially Buddhist symbols are probably not earlier than the time of Aśoka. It is not likely that Buddhism had taken root at Taxila before he began his missionary efforts about 259 B.C. I describe the *chaitya*, monastery, &c., on the Taxilan coins as 'specially Buddhist symbols', not because they are peculiar to Buddhism, but because Taxila was a famous Buddhist centre of learning, while it is not known to have been frequented by Jains.

CATALOGUE

COINS OF AJODHYĀ, FROM ABOUT 150 B.C. TO 100 A.D.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
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Copper

KING VISĀKHA-DEVA

1	I.M.	Æ rect. 92 -85 × .75	Bull (or cow) standing l., facing a peculiar column; a St. Andrew's cross above the animal's hind quarter. Legend at top in early Br. characters, <i>Visākha-devasa</i> .	In centre a solar emblem, composed of central boss with circle of dots and outer rim; snake below; a tree in railing at each side; above, a <i>triśūl</i> symbol of <i>nandipada</i> form. The coin is wholly cast in high relief (R.-C.; obtained at Fyzabad (Ajodhyā); lith. in <i>J. A. S. B.</i> , vol. xlix, part i (1880), Pl. XVI, 1, 2; this coin is No. 1; photo. of drawing in <i>C. A. I.</i> , Pl. IX, 7; Pl. XIX, 13).
2	A.S.B.	Æ rect. 53.5 -8 × .7	Similar; but smaller, and broken at top l. corner.	Similar; in inferior condition.
2a	„	Æ broken rect. -75	Goddess (? Lakshmi with elephants); above, ? (<i>Vi-sā)khade(vasa)</i> .	'Ujjain symbol' in square frame; very poor condition; attribution not quite certain.

KING DHANA-DEVA

3	I.M.	Æ rect. 55.7 -83 × .72	Bull moving r. towards a column with triangular head, springing from a railing; above, in early Br. characters, <i>Dhanadevasa</i> .	In centre, female figure r., standing on snake; a tree in railing r. and l.; above, <i>svastika</i> and two other symbols; similar in fabric and style to coins of Visākha-deva (<i>C. A. I.</i> , Pl. IX, 8).
4	A.S.B.	Æ brass rectang. 47.7 -85 × .7	Similar; not so well preserved.	Similar.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
5	A.S.B.	Æ copper rectang. 81.6 .7	Generally similar; but bull l., and no object in front of him.	Tree in railing r.; a curved object rising from railing l.; snake below; symbols above; no goddess (<i>C. A. I.</i> , Pl. IX, 9).
6	"	Æ copper rectang. 91.5 .7	As No. 5.	As No. 5.
7	"	Æ copper rectang. 27.6 .6	Elephant standing r. Legend above, in early Br. characters, (<i>Dhana?</i>) <i>devasa</i> .	Sundry symbols, obscure; similar in style to coins of Dhanadeva, but attribution uncertain.

(?) KING ŚIVA-DATTA

8	A.S.B.	Æ pale bronze rect. 16.7 .65 × .55	Elephant moving l. towards a tree or symbol in railing. Br. legend above, (<i>Śiva?</i>) <i>datasa</i> .	Sundry symbols, including a form of the 'Ujjain symbol'; the central device may be a degraded form of the goddess seated on lotus (cp. <i>C. A. I.</i> , Pl. IX, 10, 11).
9	"	Æ pale bronze or brass rect. 36.7 .65 × .56	Similar; in worse condition.	Defaced.
10	"	Æ brass rectang. 22.6 .62 × .53	Similar; legend illegible.	Similar to No. 8; but the central device is reduced to mere lines.
11	"	Æ brass rect. 44.3 .6	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto; a thicker coin (Nos. 8-11 are cast coins like those of Dhanadeva, but in poor condition, and perhaps later in date).

ANONYMOUS, CIRCULAR, CAST

12	I.M.	Æ 33.9 .6	Fish l., <i>svastika</i> above.	'Taurine', with steel-yard below (or 'axe', Cunningham, <i>C. A. I.</i> , Pl. IX, 3; Pl. XIX, 14).
13	"	Æ 31.8 .6	Ditto.	Ditto. ¹

¹ R.-C.; first published by Col. Rivett-Carnac in *J. A. S. B.*, vol. xlix, part i (1880), p. 139, Pl. XVII, 15 A, B, with the remark:—'Two specimens of a coin, which is perhaps new. On one side what looks like a fish, as in the preceding coins; on the other a "Thor's hammer" (?), or perhaps the sign of Saturn combined with some other sign in such a manner as to form a monogram (?).'

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
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RĀJĀ KUMUDA-SENA

Copper, circular, die-struck, with obv. incuse

14	I.M.	Æ 128.7 .9	Bull l., standing before tree in railing; snake on end behind bull; below, in clear bold Br. characters, <i>Rājñah Kumuda-senasa</i> , '[coin] of Rājā Kumuda-sena'; all in square incuse.	An elaborate form of the <i>nandipada trisūl</i> symbol, in double rectilinear frame; in fine condition (R.-C., from Fyzabad (Ajodhyā); publ. in <i>J. A. S. B.</i> , vol. xlix, part i (1880), Pl. XVI, 3; Pl. XIX, 15). Similar; good (R.-C.).
15	„	Æ 119.2 .8	Similar.	

AJA-VARMA

Brass, circular, die-struck, with obv. incuse

16	I.M.	Æ 133 .9	Device as on coins of Kumuda-sena. Legend, <i>Aja-varmaṇa</i> (or ? <i>varmano</i>), '[coin] of Aja-varma.'	As on coins of Kumuda-sena (R.-C., from Fyzabad (Ajodhyā); publ. loc. cit., Pl. XVI, 4; Pl. XIX, 16).
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Cock and Bull type; 'Mitra' dynasty

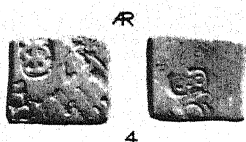
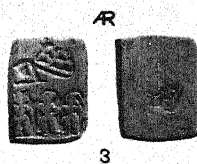
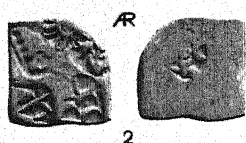
AYŪMITRA

17	A.S.B.	Æ 89.2 .7	Bull standing l. before a (?) post. Legend below, in early Br. characters, <i>Ayu</i> (or <i>Ayu</i>) <i>mitasa</i> .	Palm-tree in centre; to l., cock r., standing on curved line, facing the tree (Pl. XIX, 17). Defaced.
18	I.M.	Æ 97 .75	Ditto; much worn.	
19	A.S.B.	Æ 99 .76	Ditto; ditto.	As No. 17; much worn.
20	„	Æ 96 .75	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
21	„	Æ 23 .45	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.

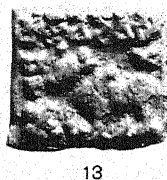
SATYAMITRA

22	A.S.B.	Æ 115.2 .85	Bull l. Legend, <i>Satya</i> <i>mitasa</i> .	Cock (? peacock) and palm-tree, as on coins of Ayūmitra; cock very clear on this specimen.
23	I.M.	Æ 124 .7	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; worn.
24	A.S.B.	Æ 104.6 .7	Ditto; much worn.	Ditto; ditto.
25	„	Æ 23.2 .45	Ditto; fair.	Ditto; ditto.

PUNCH-MARKED



LOCAL (Æ)

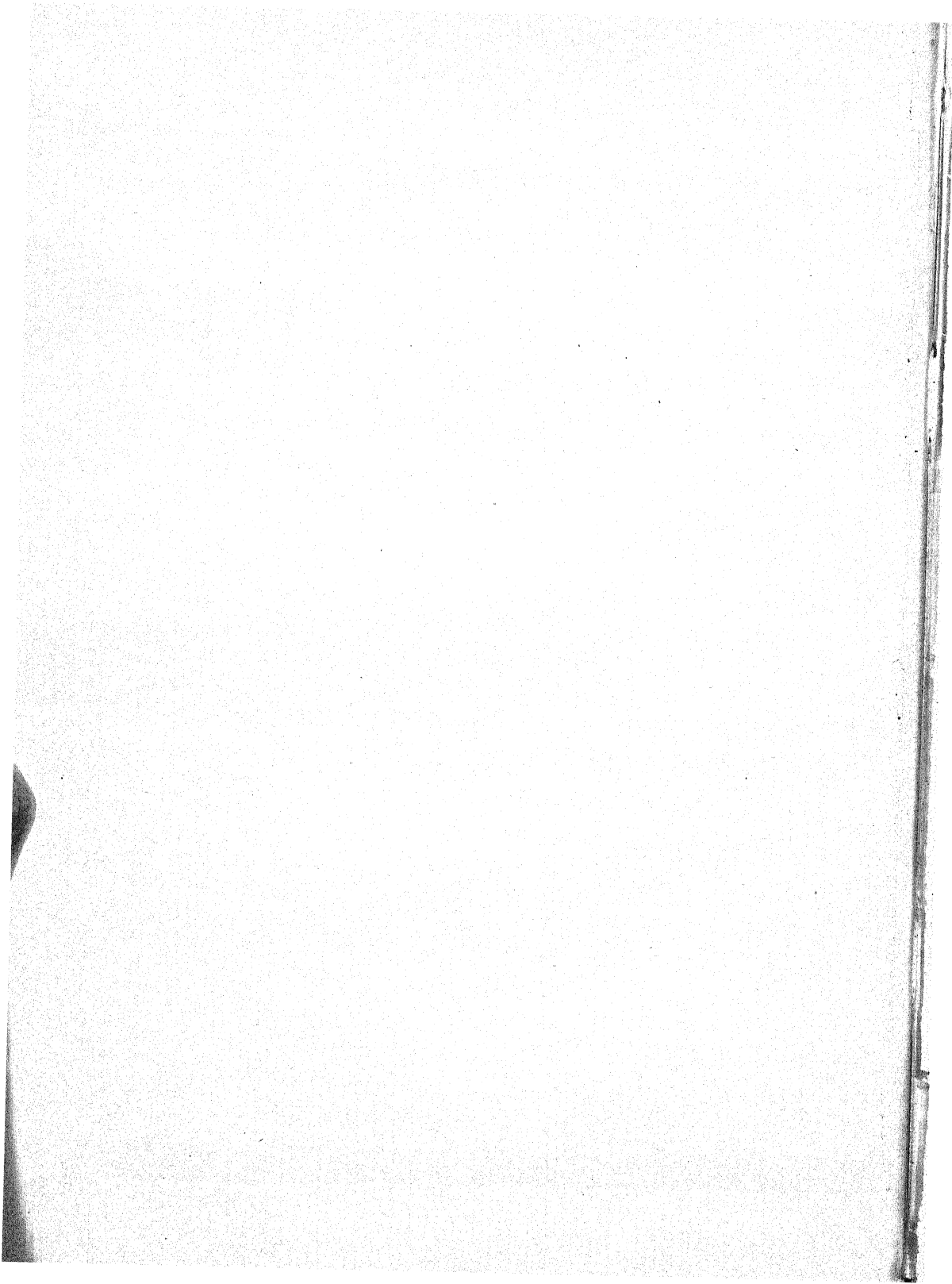


PUNCH-MARKED COINS

SILVER AND COPPER

LOCAL COINS

AJODHYA AND AVANTI



Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
26	A.S.B.	Æ 22.7 .43	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; fair.
27	„	Æ 28.9 .45	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; worn.

DEVAMITRA

28	A.S.B.	Æ 136.8 .75	Bull, as usual, l. Legend, <i>Devamitasa</i> , with traces of a second line of characters; possibly double-struck.	Palm-tree to r.; cock to l. on top of post, facing r.; curved line (? river or snake), at foot of palm-tree and post; worn; unpublished and apparently unique (Pl. XIX, 18).
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VIJAYAMITRA

29	A.S.B.	Æ 36 .66	Bull l., as usual. Legend, <i>Vijayamitasa</i> ; worn.	Palm-tree to r.; cock on ground in front of post; worn.
30	„	Æ 33.5 .6	Ditto; much worn.	Palm-tree to l.; cock to r., facing l.; worn.
31	I.M.	Æ 40.2 .65	Ditto; ditto.	Palm-tree to r.; cock on post to l., facing r.; worn.
32	„	Æ 29.5 .55	Animal indistinct, looks more like an elephant; legend as before.	As No. 31; rude and worn.
33	„	Æ 47.6 .6	As No. 29; worn.	Palm-tree in centre; bird not visible.
34	„	Æ 31.5 .55	Ditto; ditto.	Palm-tree to l.; bird defaced.
35	„	Æ 22 .4	Bull l.; only <i>mitasa</i> legible.	Palm-tree to r.; cock on ground facing r.; attribution doubtful.
36	A.S.B.	Æ 22.4 .45	Bull l.; legend lost.	Palm-tree r.; bird on ground (curved line) facing r.; attribution doubtful.

Solar symbol type

VIJAYAMITRA (PROBABLY THE SAME AS IN THE 'COCK AND BULL' TYPE)

37	A.S.B.	Æ 32.2 .6	Solar symbol composed of a globe and three-pronged figure. Legend below, <i>Vijayamitasa</i> .	Tree in railing; recumbent bull l. faintly visible above; in poor condition; possibly double-struck.
38	„	Æ 30.4 .56	Similar.	Similar; faint traces of tree and bull.
39	I.M.	Æ 35.1 .55	Ditto.	Almost wholly defaced.
40	A.S.B.	Æ 23.8 .52	Ditto.	Bull standing l.; low railing below; no trace of tree. (Pl. XIX, 19. This class of coins seems to be unpublished.)

COINS OF AVANTI (CAST OR DIE-STRUCK)¹

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
<i>Copper</i>				
I. Rectangular				
A. Standing figure type				
1	A.S.B.	Æ 78.7 .72	Man (? king or deity) facing front, wearing short-tailed coat and high tiara, with l. hand hanging down, with r. hand grasping staff or spear; to l., tree in railing; above, 'Ujjain symbol' and 'taurine'.	'Ujjain symbol' with cross in each circle.
2	"	Æ 59.7 .6	Generally similar; but tree is to r., and above it a tank with fish; solar symbol in l. top corner, also 'taurine'; no 'Ujjain symbol'.	'Ujjain symbol' with <i>svastika</i> in each circle.
3	"	Æ 60.6 .65 x .52	Nearly identical with No. 2; worn.	Ditto.
4	I.M.	Æ 61.3 .6 x .55	Man standing, facing front, with r. hand on hip; l. arm extended across staff; tree in railing to r.; snake below; early Br. legend l., <i>mi(?)tasa</i> , in characters of about 200 B.C.	'Ujjain symbol' with dot in each circle (Pl. XIX, 20).
5	A.S.B.	Æ 12.7 .45	Man with staff or spear in r. hand, l. hand on hip.	Humped bull (? cow) r., with a sort of <i>trishul</i> above, and 'Ujjain symbol', with plain circles, in front.
6	"	Æ 16.2 .4 x .31	Man, bearded, marching r., with r. hand raised.	'Ujjain symbol' with plain circles; in poor condition.
7	I.M.	Æ 116 .67	Man marching r.; river with fish below; 'Ujjain symbol' to r.; all in incuse made by circular die; trace of legend.	Indistinct; a massive, thick coin of brass or pale bronze.
8	"	Æ 108.6 .7	Similar; but conventional tree to l.; no 'Ujjain symbol'.	Defaced or blank; fabric as No. 7, metal darker colour.

¹ See *C. A. I.*, Pl. X. The coins of this class are described by Cunningham under the name of Ujjain; but they do not necessarily come only from that city, and it is preferable to use the name of Avanti, the old designation of the territory of which Ujjain was the principal city. The so-called 'Ujjain symbol' is not by any means confined to coins from the city of Ujjain. It is also found on the money of Eran, Besnagar, and the Andhra dynasty. For punch-marked coins see *ante*, Sec. V.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
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B. Animal type

9	A.S.B.	Æ 77.5 .63	Bull standing r., with apparently a man in front, and river with fish below.	'Ujjain symbol' with plain circles; in poor condition.
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C. Symbols type

10	A.S.B.	Æ 56.5 .6 × .46	Tree in railing; (?) river with fish, and (?)	'Ujjain symbol' with plain circles.
11	I.M.	Æ 16.3 .45	Tree in railing, and (?)	'Ujjain symbol' with dot in each circle (Pl. XX, 1).

II. Circular

A. Standing figure type


12	A.S.B.	Æ 128.2 .72	Man (? king or deity) standing, facing, clad in short-tailed coat and high tiara; above, <i>svastika</i> and 'taurine'; to r., solar symbol composed of crescents and broad arrow-heads attached to central boss; to l., standard surmounted by rayed sun; on extreme l., tree.	'Ujjain symbol' with an inner circle and dot in each orb (Pl. XX, 2; <i>C. A. I.</i> , Pl. X, 2).
13	I.M.	Æ 134.2 .8	Similar; not so good.	'Ujjain symbol' with plain circles.
14	A.S.B.	Æ 59 .6	Similar, rude; solar symbol, <i>svastika</i> , 'taurine,' and head of standard wanting.	Two 'Ujjain symbols', with inner circle in each orb.
15	„	Æ 76.8 .62	Similar; much defaced.	Ditto.
16	„	Æ 67.1 .6	As No. 14.	As No. 14.
17	„	Æ 42 .7	Similar; solar symbol with broad arrow-heads to r., and below it a (?) tank with four fishes.	'Ujjain symbol' nearly defaced.
18	„	Æ 39.2 .55	Half-length figure of man with r., and arms akimbo; traces of symbols.	'Ujjain symbol' with plain circles.

B. Lakshmī type

19	A.S.B.	Æ 47 .6	Rude sketch of Lakshmī seated, with an elephant on each side pouring water over her.	'Ujjain symbol' with plain circles (cp. <i>C. A. I.</i> , Pl. X, 7, 8).
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Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
20	A.S.B.	Æ 50.3 -6	Seated figure, perhaps intended for Lakshmi; in poor condition.	'Ujjain symbol' with a dot in each circle.

C. Animal type

21	A.S.B.	Æ	101.5 .6	Bull standing to r., with tree in railing in front, and solar symbol with broad arrow-heads above; (?) river below.	'Ujjain symbol' with plain circles.
22	"	Æ	89.6 .7	Similar; river distinct; worn.	'Ujjain symbol' with circle in each orb (C. A. I., Pl. X, 18).
23	I.M.	Æ	brass 68.7 .6	Humped bull l., defaced.	'Ujjain symbol' with plain circles in square incuse.
24	A.S.B.	Æ	41.3 .55	Long-legged humped bull l., as on Nāga coins.	'Ujjain symbol' with plain circles.
25	"	Æ	29 .5	Ditto.	Ditto.
26	I.M.	Æ	34 .5	Ditto; much worn.	Ditto.
27	"	Æ	19.7 .45	Bull standing r.	Tree in railing; 'Ujjain symbol' with plain circles to r.; below, in early Br. characters, <i>Runamāsa</i> , or <i>Runamisa</i> , $\text{†} \Delta \Psi$ (Pl. XX, 3).
28	"	Æ	29 .45	Two-horned rhinoceros standing r.; 'Ujjain symbol' above. 	Traces of 'Ujjain symbol'.
29	"	Æ	20.5 .53	Tusked elephant standing l.; six-rayed wheel (sun) above.	'Ujjain symbol' with inner circle and dot in each orb.

D. Symbols type

30	A.S.B.	Æ 80.5 .65	Tree in railing, 'Ujjain symbol,' and other marks.	'Ujjain symbol' with inner circle to each orb (C. A. I., Pl. X, 15).
31	„	Æ 77.8 .77 × .65	Similar.	Ditto.

¹ The coin being worn, I give a sketch, instead of a photograph of a cast. The animal seems to be the *Rhinoceros Sumatranus*, which is still found in Assam and Burma. The one-horned rhinoceros of the punch-marked coins (Pl. XIX, 5, 6) may be either *R. indicus* or *R. Sondaicus*. Mr. Theobald regards it as the latter. The late Mr. J. Cockburn 'came across an injured drawing of a two-horned rhinoceros' in a cave somewhere in the Kaimür Hills which extend to the south of Allahabad (*J. R. A. S.*, 1899, p. 96). This fact indicates that the *R. Sumatranus* once had a wider range in India than it now has, and helps to explain the appearance of the animal on an Avanti coin.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
32	A.S.B.	Æ 45 ·67 x ·58	Similar; the symbols include a tank with fish; poor condition.	Ditto.
33	"	Æ 24·8 ·55	Similar; tree, river, 'Ujjain symbol.'	Solar symbol with broad arrow-heads.
34	"	Æ 13·2 ·35	'Ujjain symbol' with plain circles; solar symbol with broad arrow-heads, &c.	'Ujjain symbol' with plain circles.
35	"	Æ 28·7 ·57	Three-arched <i>chaitya</i> with crescent above, and a separate arch in l. field.	'Ujjain symbol' with plain circles.
36	"	Æ 47·2 ·62	Obscure symbols, including a wheel; worn.	Two 'Ujjain symbols' with plain circles.

COINS OF KŌSAM, ABOUT SECOND CENTURY B. C.

KING BAHASATI (BṚHASPATI) MITRA

1	I.M.	Æ 94·8 ·7	Bodhi tree in railing, with 'taurine' to l.; below, in early Br. characters, [<i>Ba</i>]hasati-mita[sa].	Defaced; probably a bull; in poor condition (<i>C. A. I.</i> , Pl. V, 11).
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KING AŚVAGHOSHA

2	A.S.B.	Æ brass 77·2 ·73	Tree in railing; below, in early Br. characters, <i>Ghoshasa</i> .	Defaced; (?) bull; in poor condition (<i>C. A. I.</i> , Pl. V, 14).
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KING PAVATA (PĀRVATA)

3	I.M.	Æ 26·3 ·65 x ·57	Tree in railing; three-arched <i>chaitya</i> l.; snake r.; below, in early Br. characters, <i>Pavata</i> .	Humped bull standing r. (Pl. XX, 4). ¹ The coin is die-struck on a cast blank.
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ANONYMOUS

4	I.M.	Æ 102·3 1·01	In centre, conventional tree in railing; below, <i>chaitya</i> of six arches; to l., eight-rayed wheel and <i>nandipada</i> symbol; to r., cross and balls, nearly the 'Ujjain symbol', and <i>svastika</i> .	Humped bull of very lanky shape, walking l. towards a standard with peculiar head; a curious symbol above the bull; cast in high relief (<i>C. A. I.</i> , Pl. V, 7; Pl. XX, 5).
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¹ The only other known specimen, which was obtained at Kōsam, was formerly in my cabinet, and is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

COINS OF TAXILA, FROM ABOUT 350 B. C. TO THE CHRISTIAN ERA

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
<i>Copper</i>				
I. <i>Single-die Coins</i>				
A. <i>Massive rectangular</i>				
1	I.M.	Æ 159.6 1.02 × .65	<i>Chaitya</i> of three arches with crescent above, monolith to l.	Blank (C. A. I., Pl. II, 6).
2	"	Æ 141 .95 × .7	Similar.	Ditto.
3	"	Æ 80.5 .7	<i>Chaitya</i> of three arches with crescent above, tree in railing to r.	Ditto (C. A. I., Pl. II, 7).
4	"	Æ 125.7 .8 × .75	Above, to r., <i>chaitya</i> of three arches surmounted by crescent, to l. pyramid of balls; below these a snake, and below it two symbols made of curved lines.	Ditto (C. A. I., Pl. II, 9).
5	"	Æ 145 .8 × .75	<i>Chaitya</i> of three arches surmounted by crescent to l., pyramid of balls to r.; <i>svastika</i> above, and snake below; all in incuse.	Blank; well preserved (C. A. I., Pl. II, 11; Pl. XX, 6).
6	"	Æ 122.5 .87 × .7	<i>Chaitya</i> of three arches surmounted by crescent to r.; plan of monastery, with cells and monolith in centre, to l.	Blank (C. A. I., Pl. II, 12).
7	"	Æ 116 .7	Similar; snake below.	Ditto.
8	"	Æ 134.7 .77	As No. 7.	Ditto.
9	"	Æ 110.2 .92 × .7	Three-arched <i>chaitya</i> surmounted by crescent to r., pyramid of balls with three points on top to l., which is being venerated by a robed figure in centre, with l. hand on hip, and r. hand raised as if making an offering. ¹	Ditto (C. A. I., Pl. II, 14).
10	"	Æ 126 .98 × .65	Similar.	Ditto.

¹ I am not certain what the 'pyramid of balls' is meant for; it may be a kind of *stūpa*. Certainly it does not denote a 'pile of bales', as Cunningham calls it. Perhaps he meant to write a 'pile of balls'.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
<i>B. Massive circular</i>				
11	I.M.	Æ 136.2 .9	<i>Chaitya</i> of three arches surmounted by crescent to l.; short-limbed square cross to r., in circular incuse.	Blank (C. A. I., Pl. II, 16).
12	"	Æ 158 .87	Similar, but <i>chaitya</i> to r., and cross to l.	Ditto.
13	"	Æ 146.4 .9	In centre, <i>chaitya</i> of three arches surmounted by crescent, venerated by a robed figure to r. (indistinct on this spec.); to l. marginal legend, in Br. characters of third century B.C., <i>Vaṭasvaka</i> , which is probably the name of a tribe or clan.	Ditto.

C. Thin circular

14	A.S.B.	Æ 19.7 .75	Lion standing l., with a defaced symbol in front, and <i>svastika</i> above.	Blank.
15	"	Æ 36.6 .7	Similar, but thicker; the symbol in front of lion is a 'taurine'.	Ditto.
16	"	Æ 36 .7	Similar, but no symbol in front of lion.	Ditto (Pl. XX, 7).
17	I.M.	Æ 29.5 .65	Similar, but the 'taurine' is above, and the <i>svastika</i> in front of the lion.	Ditto, with doubtful marks which may be those of a device.
18	"	Æ 31.7 .65	Similar; <i>svastika</i> above, and 'taurine' in front of lion.	Certainly blank.

D. Various, circular

19	A.S.B.	Æ 56.5 .67	A large 'taurine' in centre.	Blank; rather thick coin (Pl. XX, 8).
20	"	Æ 61 .42	Solar symbol composed of crescents applied to a central boss. ¹	Blank; unusually thick.
21	"	Æ 48.6 .55	Short-limbed square cross, as on Nos. 11 and 12 above, occupying whole field.	Defaced, uncertain.

¹ The varieties of this symbol are characteristic of Taxilan coins. These three coins, Nos. 19-21, seem to be assignable to Taxila. Some others, which will be recorded in Section X, Miscellaneous Ancient, may belong to the same city.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
II. Double-die Coins				
A. Massive rectangular				
Lion and elephant type				
Var. α . Lion left				
22	A.S.B.	Æ 119 .75 x .7	Lion standing l., <i>svastika</i> above, two-arched <i>chaitya</i> surmounted by crescent, in front.	Tusked elephant standing r., two-arched <i>chaitya</i> surmounted by crescent, above.
23	"	Æ 185.7 .85 x .65	Similar; <i>chaitya</i> three-arched.	Similar; <i>chaitya</i> three-arched; indistinct symbol in front of elephant.
24	I.M.	Æ 202.8 .85 x .72	As No. 23.	As No. 23; but nothing in front of elephant (Pl. XX, 9).
25	"	Æ 164 .8	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
26	"	Æ 176 .85 x .7	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
27	"	Æ 182.8 .88 x .75	Ditto; symbols indistinct.	Ditto; ditto; worn.
28	"	Æ 62.8 .65 x .55	As No. 23.	Ditto; symbols obliterated.
29	"	Æ 80.4 .55	Ditto; symbols obliterated.	Ditto; ditto; a rude, dumpy piece.
Var. β . Lion right				
30	I.M.	Æ 189.3 .95 x .6	Lion standing r., <i>svastika</i> above, three-arched <i>chaitya</i> in front.	Elephant l., three-arched <i>chaitya</i> above; an irregular piece, about .2 thick.
31	"	Æ 182.2 .75	As No. 30.	As No. 30; upper corners rounded off.
32	"	Æ 123.7 .75	Ditto.	Elephant r., symbols obliterated. (For coins of this type see C. A. I., Pl. III, 1, 2.)
Horse and elephant type				
33	I.M.	Æ 176.7 .7 x .6	Galloping horse l.; a symbol, perhaps <i>svastika</i> , above.	Elephant standing r., indistinct object in front of him; a coarse, lumpy piece, about .25 thick (C. A. I., Pl. III, 3).
B. Rectangular, thin, various				
34	I.M.	Æ 84.3 .85 x .78	Elephant standing, facing front, between <i>chaitya</i> l. (defaced), and tree r., his trunk hanging down, ears spread out, all the legs shown.	Horse standing l., with four-arched <i>chaitya</i> in front, and another <i>chaitya</i> above; a rare coin, in poor condition (C. A. I., Pl. III, 5).

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
35	I.M.	Æ 115.4 1.05 × .83	Monstrous face, as of a demon, to front, with protruding tongue; three-arched <i>chaitya</i> above, surmounted by crescent; traces of legend on top margin.	Harp-shaped symbol on stand, with a small three-arched <i>chaitya</i> at each lower corner; very rare, in poor condition (<i>C. A. I.</i> , Pl. III, 7).
36	„	Æ 15.8 .6	Quadrilateral, with incurved sides.	Symbol consisting of five stems springing from a railing. (A small size of <i>C. A. I.</i> , Pl. III, 6.)
37	A.S.B.	Æ 27.9 .7 × .55	Three-arched <i>chaitya</i> , surmounted by crescent, and 'taurine'.	Same as obv.; probably a Taxilan coin; in poor condition.

C. Circular, thin, various

38	I.M.	Æ 40 .75	Three-arched <i>chaitya</i> , surmounted by crescent.	<i>Svastika</i> with curved limbs, opening l. (<i>C. A. I.</i> , Pl. II, 19).
39	A.S.B.	Æ 25.4 .65	Ditto.	'Taurine' symbol.
40	„	Æ 34.8 .65	Ditto.	Ditto.
41	„	Æ 16.7 .57	Ditto, and 'taurine'.	Same as obv.
42	„	Æ 45.8 .62	Ditto, and a symbol composed of an arch with horizontal line above.	Same as obv. (The symbol might be read as <i>go</i> ; similarly, the 'taurine' is a form of <i>ma</i> .)

SECTION VII

TRIBAL COINS

INTRODUCTION

For many centuries past India has not evolved any form of government other than the ordinary type of oriental despotism; but ancient India exhibited a greater variety of political constitutions, and large areas were occupied by nations, tribes, or clans, who managed to dispense with the commonplace despot, and governed themselves under some form of aristocratic or democratic constitution. The Greek writers give us glimpses of such communities—the Malloi (probably Mālavas), Oxydrakai (Kshudrakas), and others—in the Panjāb during the fourth century B. C.; and in later times occasional notices in inscriptions prove that the 'kingless' peoples still held their ground in various regions. To such peoples, apparently, must be assigned the curious coins described in this section.

ĀRJUNĀYANAS

The coins of this tribe, nation, or clan—whatever its proper designation may be—are extremely rare; and I do not know any exact record of the find-spots of the few existing specimens to help in the definite location of the tribe. In the time of Samudragupta (350 A. D.) the Ārjunāyanas were on the frontier of the Gupta empire, outside of the regular provinces, although under the general control of the paramount power. Cunningham classed the Ārjunāyana coins with those of Mathurā because they are procurable in that city; and they may be assigned with probability to the region lying west of Agra and Mathurā, equivalent, roughly speaking, to the Bharathpur and Alwar States (*J. R. A. S.*, 1897, p. 836). Two Ārjunāyana coins are included in the catalogue. No. 1 represents a type known since Prinsep's time; No. 2 seems to be unpublished. Both types are early, and may be dated approximately 100 B. C. They are closely related, in one way or another, to the money of the Northern Satraps, Yaudheyas, and other ancient powers. See *C. A. I.*, p. 89, Pl. VIII, 20; *I. C.*, sec. 42, Pl. III, 20; and Rapson in *J. R. A. S.*, 1900, p. 106.

AUDUMBARAS OR ODUMBARAS

The coins of this tribe also are extremely rare, and come chiefly, if not exclusively, from the Kāngrā District in the Panjāb. The four

specimens described in the catalogue are all in bad condition, and their *provenance* is not recorded. The coins approximately belong to the same period as those of the Ārjunāyanas; and, like them, have many points of resemblance to other classes of ancient coins. See *C. A. I.*, p. 66, Pl. IV; *Reports*, xiv, p. 115, Pl. XXXI; *I. C.*, sec. 43, Pl. III, 8; Bergny and Rapson in *J. R. A. S.*, 1900, pp. 410, 429 n. [During passage of this work through the press I learn from Mr. Rawlins that Odumbara coins of Bhānumitra are 'quite common' at the foot of the Manaswāl plateau, Hoshyārpur District.]

KUṆINDAS

The ancient Kuṇindas seem to be represented by the modern Kunets of Kūlū and other territories near Simla, and to have extended formerly into the Sahāranpur and Ambāla Districts, where their coins occur in large numbers. Three of the silver coins were found at Jwālamukhi in Kāngrā associated with coins of Apollodotos (*circ.* 150 B. C.; *Reports*, xiv. 134). Most of the Kuṇinda coins, both silver and copper, bear legends assigning them to the reign of Mahārājā Amoghabhūti, Rājā of the Kuṇindas; but they vary much in execution, and probably extend over a considerable period. The name of Amoghabhūti seems to have been continued on the coinage long after his decease. The legends usually are in an ancient form of Brāhmī script, but some coins, presumably the earliest, have the legend repeated in the Kharōshthī character (Nos. 9, 10 of catalogue).

The rare anonymous coins exhibiting an image of Śiva and his titles (Nos. 36, 37) are later in date than the 'stag type' coins with the name of Amoghabhūti.

See *Reports*, xiv, pp. 125-35, Pl. XXXI; *C. A. I.*, p. 70, Pl. V; *I. C.*, sec. 50, Pl. III, 9, 10; and Professor Rapson's article, 'The Kulūtas, a people of Northern India,' in *J. R. A. S.*, 1900, p. 529.

THE MĀLAVAS

In ancient Indian literature and inscriptions the term Mālava is applied to various communities and territories, extending from the eastern Panjāb to Ujjain. Tāranāth (Schiefner, p. 251) even speaks of 'Mālava in Prayāga', whatever that may mean. The Mālavas whose coins are here catalogued dwelt in eastern Rājputāna for four or five centuries, and may or may not have been the same people as the better known Mālavas further south. In the vast range of Indian coinages their coins are among the most curious and enigmatical, and among the many brilliant discoveries made by that eccentric archaeologist, the late Mr. A. C. Carlleyle, none is more striking than that of thousands of Mālava coins at Nāgar in the Jaypur State. The discovery was made

in the camping season of either 1871-2 or 1872-3, and, so far as I know, since then nobody else has visited the place, which is difficult of access, infested with venomous snakes, and extremely unhealthy. The site of the ancient town of Nāgar, or Karkota Nāgar, covers about four square miles, and lies within the territory of the Rājā of Uniyāra (Oniara of map), a feudatory of Jaypur, at a distance of about twenty-five miles a little east of south from Tonk, in approximately N. lat. $25^{\circ}50'$ and E. long. $75^{\circ}50'$. Here Carlleyle found the remains of a city of high antiquity, with a multitude of old temples and great embankments, the buildings being constructed of huge bricks measuring $1'6'' \times 1'5'' \times 4''$. The Mālava coins occurred in large numbers in many spots, and he 'found the small green old coins in some places lying as thick as shells on the sea-shore' (*Reports*, vi. 176). Altogether he and the people employed by him gathered more than six thousand; out of which 'not more than about thirty-five coins (or a little over half a coin per cent.) were of outside origin, or derived from a foreign source. With the exception of these few, the whole of the coins found at Nāgar were exclusively of Nāgar mintage, and belonged to Nāgar alone' (*ibid.*, p. 179). The coins now described are part of that wonderful find. A few duplicates have been excluded from the catalogue. Carlleyle found that about 2,296 specimens were worth keeping, but 'about 400 good coins' were stolen from him. I do not know what has become of the balance; Dr. Hoernle formerly had some, but an immense number remains unaccounted for. Evidently plenty more would be obtainable if anybody would take the trouble to go and look for them.

According to Carlleyle's and Cunningham's judgement the age of the coins found ranged from about 250 B. C. to 250 A. D., or at the latest 350 A. D., a period of five or six centuries; and my examination of the available specimens supports this opinion, so far as the later limit is concerned. But the initial date for the coins, as Professor Rapson has convinced me, does not seem to be earlier than 150 B. C.

The legends of the earliest coins are in the Brāhmī script of the second century B. C., while those of the latest may be assigned to the fourth century A. D. The cessation of the local coinage is adequately accounted for by Samudragupta's conquest of Northern India about 330 A. D. Professor Rapson goes too far when he observes that 'the coins on which the legend *Mālavānām Jayah* has been read were formerly regarded as ancient; but both the character of their inscriptions and the fact that they are in fabric somewhat similar to the coins of the Nāgas of Padmāvati (Smith, *J. R. A. S.*, 1897, p. 643; v. inf. § 101) point to a date not earlier than the fifth cent. A. D.' (*I. C.*, sec. 51). In truth none of the coins in the Indian Museum are as late as the fifth century, and, as remarked above, 330 A. D. may be taken as the limiting date.

Most of the earliest coins are comparatively large, with a diameter of about half an inch (Nos. 1-11). The *Bhupainyana* coin (No. 68), diam. .4, and the Yama coin (No. 69), diam. .42, belong to the same period, probably the second century B. C. No. 100, a coin of *Paya*, with a late form of *y*, may be assigned to 300 A. D. The unique *Mahārāya* coin (No. 101, Pl. XXI, 5), which Carlleyle supposed to be the latest of all (*Reports*, p. 180) seems to be referable to the second century A. D. Its diameter is .3.

The small size of most of the Mālava coins is astonishing. The weights (inaccurately stated by Cunningham, *Reports*, xiv. p. 150) are as follows:—

		grains
Class A.	Group 1 (second century B. C.) . . .	10.5 to 40.3
	„ 2 (two coins), vase rev. . . .	2.5 each
	„ 3, tree and vase	4 to 9
	„ 4, lion rev.	3.4 to 7.5
	„ 5, bull rev.	3.5 „ 10.5
	„ 6, king's head	6.5 „ 9.4
	„ 7, fantail peacock	6.3 „ 12.0
	„ 8, various	2.6 „ 16
Classes B and C	1.7 „ 15

No. 106, with a pinnate palm-leaf on obv., vase on rev., and weight 1.7, diam. .2, may claim the honour of being one of the smallest coins in the world. Although it has no legend, the type is quite distinctly shown. No. 70, which is inscribed with a two-line legend, weighs only 2.3, and has a diam. of .25. It is very difficult to understand how such a coinage can have been used, as it was used for centuries.¹ Evidently it was confined to Nāgar and the immediate neighbourhood, for the coins are not found anywhere else. The few which Cunningham obtained at the annual fair of Pokhar (Rājputāna) in November, 1864 (*Reports*, xiv. 150), probably came from Nāgar, and the single specimen in the A. S. B. collection (Catal. No. 67 *b*) most likely was obtained by Colonel Stacy's collector working at Chitor.

Carlleyle recognized nearly forty new names of chiefs, but those read by me on the coins catalogued number only twenty. Very odd the names are, and evidently of foreign origin. The name *Yama* on No. 69 in early characters may be read backwards as *Maya*. Undoubted examples of reversed legends read from right to left are supplied by Nos. 57 (Pl. XX, 20), 62 (Pl. XX, 22), 63 (Pl. XX, 23), and 70. The

¹ I formerly possessed eight select specimens of minute rectangular punch-marked coins from Eran which measured from .2 to .35 inch on the side. I did not note the weights. The British Museum possesses minute silver coins of Ephesus, the smallest of which weighs only a grain.

extreme minuteness of the coins may interfere with the legibility of photographs, on which difficulty may be found in tracing the legends, but in all these cases the fact is as stated. I should note that the reading *Mālavāhṇa*, and its explanation as a Prākṛit genitive plural, were first published by Dr. Hoernle.

Limitation of space forbids further discussion of this interesting group of coins. The publications on the subject have been cited above.

NĀGA

The Nāga coins, having been adequately treated by Cunningham (*Reports*, ii. 307-28; *J. A. S. B.*, 1865; *C. M. I.*, pp. 20-4, Pl. II), may be disposed of briefly. The Nāga capital, Padmāvati, was identified rightly by Cunningham with the modern Narwar (Nalapura) in the Gwālior State, situated about forty-five miles SSW. from Gwālior. The abundant coinage of Mahārājā Gaṇapati or Gaṇendra is represented in the catalogue by fifteen selected specimens, among which No. 15, weight 42, diam. .45, is notable for its comparatively large size and thickness. Most of the coins are very small, the diameter ranging from .3 to .38, and the weight from 6.3 to 21.5. They are closely related to some of the later Mālava coins, but are rather larger and thicker. The date of Gaṇapati Nāga is fixed to approximately 330 A. D. by the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta, who 'violently exterminated' him along with other northern princes (*J. R. A. S.*, 1897, p. 876). Mahārājā Deva, of whose coinage a single poor specimen is in the collection, must have been slightly earlier. The coins of the other Nāga chiefs are wanting.

RĀJAṆYA

The Rājaṇya coinage has not been recognized hitherto owing to a strange blunder in the reading of the legend, *Rajaṇa janapadasa*, the first word of which has been misread by everybody as *Rājña* (*I. C.*, sec. 47; *Reports*, xiv. 151) or *Rajña* (*C. A. I.*, p. 89). The legend, whether in Brāhmī or Kharōsthī, is perfectly plain as *Rajaṇa*, written in three characters. Professor Rapson, who accepts the correction, rightly explains *rajaṇa* as equivalent to Sanskrit *rājaṇya*, a well-known equivalent for *kshatriya*, the modern Rājput. The legend therefore means ' [coin] of the Kshatriya country', or, to use the present verbal equivalent, Rājasthān or Rājputāna. In *C. A. I.*, Cunningham classes the coins of the so-called 'Raja-Janapada' with those of Mathurā, as being occasionally procurable at that city, but points out (p. 85) that many of the coins included in his Plate VIII were brought for sale from the surrounding country. The Rājaṇya or Kshatriya territory, therefore, must have been not far from Mathurā, and presumably in some part of eastern Rājputāna. Exact evidence concerning the *provenance* of the coins, which are rare, has not been

recorded, but the type is closely related to that of the Northern Satraps of Mathurā, and the coins may be assigned to either the Bharathpur (Bhurtpore) or Dholpur State; more probably the latter, as the Ārjunāyanas may be allotted to the former. The date of the Rājānya coinage seems to be either the second or first century B. C. [Mr. Rawlins informs me that coins of this type are found on the Manaswāl plateau, Hoshyārpur District.]

YAUDHEYA

The best account of the Yaudheya coins is that in *Reports*, pp. 139-45, Pl. XXXI, which is superior to the description in *C. A. I.*, pp. 75-9; but the plate in the latter work is the better. The references are collected in *I. C.*, sec. 60 (Pl. III, 13-15).

The name Yaudheya (also spelt Yodheya on some coins) means 'warrior', and the tribe is mentioned in inscriptions as opposed to the Satrap Rudradāman of Surāshṭra about 150 A. D., and to Samudragupta about 330 A. D. The coins, which are readily divisible into three well-marked classes, 'are found in the Eastern Panjāb, and all over the country between the Satlej and Jumna Rivers. Two large finds have been made at Sonpath, between Delhi and Karnāl.'

Four of the copper pieces were obtained in the Kāngrā District, and a great many at a place called Jogadheri in the Eastern Panjāb. The unique silver coin was procured by Cunningham's collector at Sahāranpur (*C. A. I.*, pp. 75, 79; Mr. Rodgers).

The 'bull and elephant' type, which is the earliest, may be dated a little before or after the Christian era. The big, rude pieces of the chief who calls himself Svāmi Brahmanya Yaudheya may be assigned to the second century A. D.; and the better executed 'warrior' type coins, suggested by Kushān models, probably extend up to the time of the conquest of Northern India by Samudragupta about 330 A. D. They seem to have been issued by three distinct clans, the coins of the second and third clans being distinguished by numeral syllables and special symbols. Those of the third clan are the least numerous.

For Yaudheya clay seals or votive tablets from Sunet in the Lūdiāna District, see Hoernle, *Proc. A. S. B.*, 1884, pp. 138-40. These are assigned to the third century A. D., but may be as late as the early part of the fourth century.

CATALOGUE

ĀRJUNĀYANA, (?) ABOUT 100 B. C.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
<i>Copper; circular</i>				
1	A.S.B.	Æ 61.3 .67	Standing figure, with r. hand raised, as on N. Satrap coins; marginal Br. legend in early script, A[r]junāyanāna.	Bull standing l.; much worn; thick coin.
2	I.M.	Æ 14.8 .6	Railing with curved object rising from it; marginal Br. legend, A[r]junāyanana jaya (Ārjunāyanānām jayah), 'Victory to the Ārjunāyanas.'	To r., tree in railing; to l., elephant facing front with head r. and trunk raised; new type; probably R.-C. (Pl. XX, 10).

AUDUMBARA (ODUMBARA), (?) ABOUT 100 B. C.

Copper or brass; circular

1	A.S.B.	Æ brass 69.3 .75	Armed figure facing front, grasping spear in r. hand, with l. hand on hip; snake vertically to r.; legend lost.	Elephant moving l.; marginal Kh. legend, not legible; probably a coin of Mahimitra (C. A. I., Pl. IV, 8).
2	"	Æ copper 24 .6	Triangular-headed symbol, and other symbols, indistinct; legend lost.	Elephant moving l.; legend lost; probably a coin of Bhānumitra (C. A. I., Pl. IV, 12).
3	"	Æ copper 27.5 .6	Defaced; probably symbols; legend lost.	Elephant moving l.; legend apparently Br., ending in <i>mitasa</i> , but much defaced; perhaps coin of Bhānumitra.
4	"	Æ copper 29.5 .6	Triangular-headed symbol, snake, &c. Br. legend above, . . Bhānum[itasa].	Elephant moving l.; much worn.

KUNINDA, 150 B.C.—(?) 100 A.D.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
MAHĀRĀJĀ AMOGHABHŪTI, SECOND CENTURY B.C.				
<i>Stag type</i>				
<i>Silver</i>				
1	I.M.	Æ 33.8 .67	Female, with l. hand on hip, offering fruit with r. hand to a stag standing r., with a symbol between horns; square <i>stūpa</i> surmounted by umbrella above stag; mint-mark, a disk surrounded by dots at hind-foot of stag; marginal Br. legend, perfectly preserved, <i>Amoghabhūtiśa mahārājasa rājña Kuṇi[n]dasa</i> (अमघमु तस महरजस राज्ञ कुणदस), 'Coin of Amoghabhūti Mahārāja, Rājā, the Kuninda' (or 'of K.').	In centre, high six-arched <i>chaitya</i> with umbrella; to r., conventional tree in railing; to l., <i>svastika</i> and triangular-headed symbol; above, <i>nandipada</i> symbol (Pl. VII, 152); below, snake. Kh. marginal legend, <i>Raṇa Kuṇidasa Amoghabhātisa</i> ; below, <i>maharajasa</i> .
2	A.S.B.	Æ 34.2 .68	Similar; mint-mark the same. Legend beautifully preserved, <i>अमघमुतिस महरजस रजः कुणदस</i> .	Similar. Kh. legend, <i>Raṇa Kuṇidasa Amoghabhātisa</i> ; below, <i>maharajasa</i> (Pl. XX, 11). ¹
3	I.M.	Æ 33 .71	Similar; mint-mark the same, but below the feet of the female; legend imperfect.	Similar; legend imperfect.
4	A.S.B.	Æ 30.8 .71	Similar; minute mint-mark between female and stag; legend very imperfect.	Ditto; legend very imperfect.
5	I.M.	Æ 30.8 .7	Similar; mint-marks, <i>svastika</i> between stag's legs, and <i>nandipada</i> between stag and female; legend very imperfect.	Similar; legend very imperfect.
6	„	Æ 31.6 .75	Similar; mint-mark, two short curved lines (?snakes) between stag's legs; legend very imperfect.	Ditto; ditto.

¹ Mr. Theobald (*Proc. A. S. B.*, 1893, p. 174) holds that the animal is a buffalo, but to me it seems clearly to be a stag of some species. The 'Buddhist symbol' (Cunningham), between the horns, may be a pair of snakes, as Theobald interprets it. The Br. legend begins over the stag's head, not as given by Cunningham, and is continuous. The Kh. legend, which is interesting as including the rare character *gha*, begins r. at the bottom, and *maharajasa* is in the exergue. The Br. u of *bhu* is short; in the Kh. this vowel is not marked. The second nasal of Kuninda is not visible in either legend.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
7	I.M.	Æ 33.5 .75	Similar to No. 6; mint-mark, a three-arched <i>chaitya</i> with umbrella between stag's legs; legend imperfect.	Similar to No. 6; legend very imperfect.
8	A.S.B.	Æ 33 .65	Similar; mint-mark, a three-arched <i>chaitya</i> without umbrella between stag's legs; legend imperfect.	Ditto; ditto.

Copper or brass

A. With both Br. and Kh. legends

9	I.M.	Æ copper 85.2 .95	Device and legend as on silver coins, but no mint-mark; legend imperfect.	Traces of Kh. legend apparently outside dotted circle; device as on silver coins; a fine, broad piece.
10	A.S.B.	Æ brass 80.2 .72	Ditto; in very bad condition.	Similar; but coarse and thick, with a large protuberance showing that the flan was cast; mere trace of Kh. legend.

B. With Brāhmī legend only

11	A.S.B.	Æ brass 131 .86	Device and legend as above, but rude and imperfect.	Device as above; no legend; thick, clumsy coin; worn.
12	I.M.	Æ brass 177 .95	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto; much defaced.
13	"	Æ copper 144.5 1.12	Device and legend as before, but only a small part of legend.	Device as before; fine, flat, well preserved coin of unusual diameter (Pl. XX, 12).
14	A.S.B.	Æ copper 95.6 .86	Ditto; rude.	Ditto; rude piece, with protuberance left by mould.
15	"	Æ copper 113.7 .95	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; flat and circular.
16	I.M.	Æ brass 122 .85	Ditto; rude.	Ditto; thick, clumsy piece.
17	"	Æ copper 87 .8	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; flat, circular.
18	"	Æ copper 57.8 .77	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
19	"	Æ copper 39.5 .78	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; thin.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
20	I.M.	Æ copper 42.5 .73	Ditto; ditto; vase in front of stag.	Ditto; ditto.
21	"	Æ copper 41 .73	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
22	"	Æ copper 48.2 .77	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
23	"	Æ copper 45.7 .75	Ditto; ditto; cross in circle below stag.	Ditto; ditto.
24	"	Æ brass 52.3 .78	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
25	"	Æ copper 35 .67	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
26	"	Æ copper 24.8 .65	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
27	"	Æ copper 26.5 .64	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
28	A.S.B.	Æ copper 28.2 .55	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; cast in high relief.
29	"	Æ copper 29 .62		Similar.
<i>C. With no legends</i>				
30	I.M.	Æ brass 99 .75	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; thick, clumsy.
31	"	Æ copper 41 .75	Ditto; ditto; cross in circle before stag.	Ditto; thin.
32	"	Æ copper 50 .65	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; medium thickness.
33	A.S.B.	Æ copper 37 .68	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; rather thin.
34	I.M.	Æ copper 24 .65	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; thin.
35	A.S.B.	Æ copper 24 .6	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; thin. ¹

¹ Some of these Kuninda coins seem to be wholly cast; others perhaps die-struck on cast blanks; and others die-struck on hammered blanks; but it is not easy always to be certain as to the exact method of manufacture.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
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ANONYMOUS; LATER THAN AMOGHABHŪTI

*Chatreśvara type**Copper*

36	A.S.B.	Æ 221.6 1.01	Śiva standing facing, grasping trident; battle-axe in r. hand, with l. hand on hip; legend lost. (It should be <i>Bhāgavata chatreśvara mahāmanah</i> (Rapson).)	Stag standing l.; tree in railing r.; six-arched <i>chaitya</i> and triangular-headed symbol l.; snake below; a symbol below, and another above stag; in poor condition (<i>C. A. I.</i> , Pl. V, 4, 5).
37	„	Æ 89 .95	Similar; almost defaced.	Similar; much worn; some of the symbols perhaps differ.

MĀLAVA, 150 B. C.—330 A. D.

*Copper (circular, unless as specified)*Class A—*With the tribal name*

Group 1; coins about .5 or more in diameter, generally circular; second century B. C.

1	I.M.	Æ 40.3 .52	<i>Jaya</i> in large ancient script.	Radiates sun and a second solar symbol; marginal legend in large characters, [M]ālavā[nām].
2	„	Æ imperfect 10.5 .5	Legend in two lines, (1) <i>Jaya</i> . . ., (2) <i>Mālavā-nā[n]</i> . (Two <i>aksharas</i> seem to follow <i>jaya</i> , (?) <i>jaya</i> repeated.)	Corroded.
3	„	Æ 29.5 .62	Legend in two lines, (1) <i>Jaya</i> , (2) [Mā]lavā-nā[n]. (The <i>ja</i> lies on its back.)	Ditto.
4	„	Æ oval 25.5 .7 × .57	Conventional tree in railing, with <i>ja</i> l. and <i>ya</i> r.	Snake (?); rest corroded, probably had legend <i>Mālavānām</i> .
5	„	Æ 22.25 .55	Legend in two lines, (1) [Ja]ya, (2) [Mā]lavā-nām.	Corroded.
6	„	Æ 14 .55	Legend in two lines, (1) <i>Jaya</i> , and an <i>akshara</i> , (2) <i>Mālavā[nām]</i> . (The mark for <i>i</i> is distinct.)	Ditto (Pl. XX, 13).

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
7	I.M.	Æ 23.5 .5	Legend across coin, <i>Ma-lavā</i> ; above, <i>Jaya</i> end-wise.	Ditto, or perhaps blank.
8	"	Æ imperfect 11 .45	Above, railing of tree; below, <i>Mālavā</i> .	Snake; and <i>nandipada</i> symbol, nearly as Pl. VII, 152.
9	"	Æ thick 31.4 .52	<i>Jaya</i> in bold characters on blank surface.	Corroded; probably had legend <i>Mālavānām</i> (Pl. XX, 14). This coin, perhaps, looks rather later than the others.
10	"	Æ 17.3 .46	Animal (? lion) standing l.; traces of legend above seem to be <i>Mālava</i> , but (?).	Symbols mostly defaced. This coin is doubtful.
11	"	Æ oblong 7 ·6 × .45	<i>Chaitya</i> of three arches; above, [<i>Ja</i>]ya, in large old characters.	Radiate sun and second solar symbol, as No. 1; legend below in second century B. C. script, <i>Mālavāna</i> . (The coin is as thin as paper.)

The following are all of minute size

Group 2; with vase rev.

12	I.M.	Æ 2.5 .25	Legend in two lines, (1) <i>Mālava</i> , (2) <i>jaya</i> , in early script.	Vase (<i>lotā</i>) in dotted circle.
13	"	Æ 2.5 .2	Ditto, less distinct.	Ditto.

Group 3; tree on obv., vase rev.

a. Rectangular

14	I.M.	Æ 7.3 .35	In centre, tree in railing; to r. <i>Malava</i> ; to l. <i>jaya</i> .	Vase in dotted border.
15	"	Æ 7.5 ·4 × .34	Ditto; r. <i>Malava</i> ; l. <i>na jaya</i> .	Ditto.
16	"	Æ 9 .4	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
17	"	Æ 7 ·36 × .3	Ditto; r. <i>Mālava</i> ; l. <i>nā jaya</i> .	Ditto.
18	"	Æ 7.3 ·35 × .3	Ditto; r. <i>Malava</i> ; l. <i>nā jayo</i> .	Ditto (Pl. XX, 15).
19	"	Æ 6.3 .35	Ditto; r. <i>Malava</i> ; l. <i>na jayo</i> (or <i>jaya</i>).	Ditto.
20	"	Æ 4.5 .32	Ditto; r. <i>Malava</i> ; l. <i>na</i> (or <i>na</i>) <i>ja</i> .	Ditto.
21	"	Æ 4.1 .31	Ditto; r. <i>Mālava</i> ; l. <i>na jaya</i> in rude script.	Ditto.
22	"	Æ 6.2 .27	Ditto; legend imperfect.	Ditto.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
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β. Circular

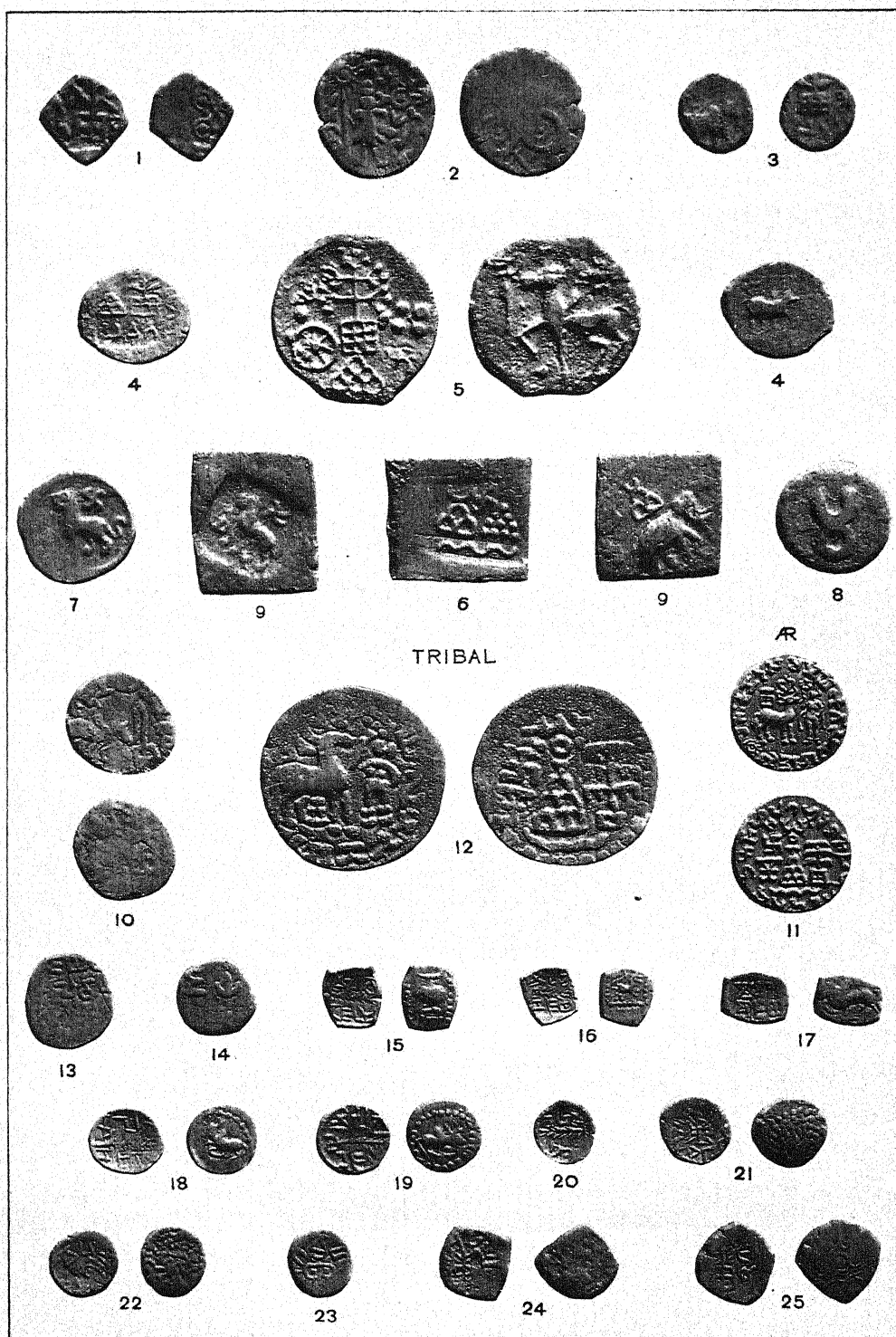
23	I.M.	Æ 4.1 .33	As No. 22; r. <i>Mālavā</i> ; l. <i>na jaya</i> .	As No. 22.
24	"	Æ 4 .31	Ditto; ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
25	"	Æ 4 .3	Ditto; r. <i>Mala[va]</i> ; l. <i>h[na]ja[ya]</i> .	Ditto.

Group 4; with lion rev., rectangular

26	I.M.	Æ 5 .3	<i>Mālava jaya</i> (imperfect); no device.	Lion standing l.; poor condition.
27	"	Æ 5 .22	Tree or palm-branch; r. <i>Mālava</i> (imperfect); l. <i>jaya</i> .	Lion standing l., open-mouthed, in dotted border; fairly good.
28	"	Æ 5.4 .3	Similar; legend imperfect, - <i>lava na jaya</i> .	Ditto; ditto.
29	"	Æ 7.5 .3	Ditto; ditto; <i>Malavahṇa jaya</i> .	Ditto; lion good.
30	"	Æ 4.4 .33	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; fair.
31	"	Æ 3.4 2.5	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
32	"	Æ 6 .32	Ditto, tree in railing; <i>Malavā</i> , r.; <i>na jaya</i> , l.	Lion r.; good (Pl. XX, 16).
33	"	Æ 5 .3	Ditto; legend imperfect; die deeply sunk.	Ditto; fair.
34	"	Æ 4.9 .3	Ditto; legend as No. 32.	Ditto; ditto.
35	"	Æ 4.5 .33	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
36	"	Æ 5.5 .3	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.

*Group 5; with bull rev.**a. Rectangular*

37	I.M.	Æ 8.5 .37 × .3	Two-line legend, (1) <i>Malava</i> , (2) <i>hṇa jaya</i> ; no device.	Humped bull walking l. (Pl. XX, 17).
38	"	Æ 10.5 .4 × .33	Similar; legend in incuse; more recent form of <i>ya</i> .	Ditto.
39	"	Æ 9.5 .35	As No. 37.	Ditto.
40	"	Æ 4 .25	Same legend, but marginal, as on Nāga coins; imperfect.	Ditto, very rude.
41	"	Æ 6 .3	Tree in railing; two-line legend as on some lion coins, Group 4.	Animal r., in dotted border; seems to be a bull, but may be a lion.



LOCAL COINS

AVANTI, KÖSAM, TAXILA

TRIBAL COINS

ĀRJUNĀYANA, KUṆINDA, MĀLAVA

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
<i>β. Circular</i>				
42	I.M.	Æ 8.9 .4	As No. 37.	(?) Recumbent bull l.
43	"	Æ 6 .35	Ditto; later form of <i>ya</i> .	Bull moving l.
44	"	Æ 8 .35	<i>Malava</i> only, in bold early script.	Ditto, r. (?).
45	"	Æ 3.8 .3	As No. 37; imperfect.	Bull moving l.
46	"	Æ 4 .3	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
47	"	Æ 10.1 .43	Tree; r. <i>Mālava</i> ; l. <i>ṇā jaya</i> .	Recumbent bull with large horns, l. (Pl. XX, 18).
48	"	Æ 3.5 .27	<i>Malava</i> ; traces of <i>jaya</i> .	Bull moving l.
49	"	Æ 7.3 .45	Tree; r. <i>Mālava</i> ; l. <i>ṇa jaya</i> , in rudely sketched script.	Bull with large horns standing r.
50	"	Æ 8.2 .41	Similar.	Ditto; concave.
51	"	Æ 9 .43	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto, recumbent r. (Pl. XX, 19).
52	"	Æ 8 .45	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
53	"	Æ 9 .41	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
54	"	Æ oval 5.9 .42 x .35	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
55	"	Æ 8.1 .42	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
56	"	Æ 7.2 .45	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
57	"	Æ 7 .4	Ditto; legend reversed, to be read from r. to l.	Ditto; ditto (Pl. XX, 20).

Group 6; rev. king's head (see also No. 72a)

58	I.M.	Æ 8 .4	Uncertain device in centre; roughly executed marginal legend, as on Nāga coins, <i>Mālava gaṇa</i> . . (? <i>ganasya jaya</i>).	King's head r., with curly hair (Pl. XX, 21).
59	"	Æ 6.5 .35	Similar; but not fully legible.	King's head l.
60	"	Æ 9.4 .38	Similar; only <i>jaya</i> legible.	Ditto.
61	"	Æ 7 .35	<i>Malava</i> in narrow incuse.	Defaced; may be either head, or vase, as in Group 2.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
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Group 7; rev. 'fantail peacock'.¹

62	I.M.	Æ thick 12 .4	Obscure central device; marginal legend <i>Malava</i> in large characters, reversed, read from r. to l., followed apparently by <i>ga</i> (?).	Peacock facing, with expanded tail covering whole surface (Pl. XX, 22).
63	"	Æ 6.3 .38	Curious device, possibly intended for female figure: distinct legend, reversed from r. to l., [<i>Mā</i>] <i>lava ga</i> (? <i>ganasya jaya</i>).	Ditto; less distinct (Pl. XX, 23).

Group 8; rev. devices obscure and various

64	I.M.	Æ 4.7 .32	Concave; marginal legend only, as on Nāga coins, <i>Mālavahna jaya</i> : late form of <i>ya</i> .	Apparently a solar emblem with bent rays.
65	"	Æ broken 2.7 .31	Tree; l. <i>Mālava</i> ; r. <i>jaya</i> .	A peculiar symbol, like two Br. <i>ja</i> 's combined.
66	"	Æ 4.3 .32	Two-line legend, (1) <i>Jaya</i> (the <i>ja</i> lying on its back), (2) [<i>Mā</i>] <i>lavānā</i> , only; no device: second century B. C.	Defaced; (?) a snake.
67	"	Æ 2.6 .25	Tree in railing; l. <i>Malā</i> .	<i>Nandipada</i> symbol (Pl. VII, 152) occupying whole surface.
67 a	"	Æ 4 .27	Marginal legend imperfect, <i>Malava jaya</i> ; no device.	Uncertain.
67 b	A.S.B.	Æ 16 .4	Open lotus flower; marginal legend, <i>Malava</i> .	Defaced; probably peacock, as No. 62.

Class B—With the names of chiefs (?)

BHAPAMYANA

68	I.M.	Æ sq. 15 .4	Tree in railing; marginal legend in characters of about 200 B. C., <i>Bhapamyana</i> .	Animal (? lion or tiger) l. (Pl. XX, 24).
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YAMA (OR ? MAYA)

69	I.M.	Æ sq. 9.8 .42	Tree in railing; to r. <i>Yama</i> , in characters of second century B. C. (or reversed, <i>Maya</i>).	A form of the 'Ujjain symbol'; snake (Pl. XX, 25; for a later Yama, see No. 92).
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¹ Prof. Rapson, when examining these coins, was disposed to regard the 'fantail peacock' as identical with the 'king's head' device, but to me the two types appear to be distinctly different.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
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? MAJUPA

70	I.M.	Æ 2.3 .25	Two-line legend, (1) <i>Ma-lavā</i> , (2) <i>Majupa</i> , both read from r. to l. The first character of line 2 is doubtful.	Animal, not humped, l.
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MAPOJAYA

71	I.M.	Æ sq. 7.2 .32	Single-line legend, <i>Ma-pojaya</i> ; the <i>ya</i> turned endwise to save space.	Lion.
72	"	Æ 8 .33	Single-line legend, <i>Ma-po</i> .	Elephant r.; worn.

MAPAYA

72 a	I.M.	Æ 6.7 .35	Uncertain marks in centre; marginal legend seems to be <i>Mapayasa jaya</i> , 'victory to Mapaya,' (?) <i>gaṇa</i> between <i>Mapaya</i> and <i>sa</i> . (Rodgers read <i>Maha . . . sajaya</i> .)	King's head l.; worn.
73	"	Æ 7 .35	Single-line legend, <i>Ma-paya</i> , the <i>ya</i> being turned endwise, in order to save space.	Humped bull l. (Pl. XXI, 1).
74	"	Æ 12.3 .38	Single-line legend, <i>Ma-paya</i> ; a late form of <i>ya</i> .	Ditto.
75	"	Æ 11.4 .35	Single-line legend, <i>Ma-paya</i> .	Ditto.
76	"	Æ 11 .35	Ditto.	Ditto.
77	"	Æ 8 .36	Ditto.	Ditto.
78	"	Æ 12 .38	Ditto.	Ditto.
79	"	Æ 6.7 .33	Ditto.	Animal standing l., not humped.

MAGAJAŚA

80	I.M.	Æ sq. 7.5 .3	Single-line legend, <i>Ma-gajaśa</i> , certain and complete, in incuse.	Defaced (Pl. XXI, 2).
81	"	Æ sq. thin 3.5 .35	Ditto, less clear, but quite legible.	Obscure.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
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MAGAJA

82	I.M.	Æ sq. thin 5.2	Single-line legend, complete, in incuse, <i>Magaja</i> .	Elephant r.
83	„	.35 × .3 Æ sq. thin 4	Ditto.	Defaced.
84	„	.3 Æ sq. 8.6 .4 × .36	Ditto.	Ditto; an animal r.

MAGOJAVA

85	I.M.	Æ sq. 7.5	Single-line legend in incuse, <i>Magojava</i> .	Lion sitting r.
86	„	.32 Æ sq. 8.2	Ditto; last character imperfect.	Ditto (Pl. XXI, 3).
87	„	.35 × .3 Æ sq. 4.2 .31 × .26	Ditto; all legible.	Ditto.

GOJARA

88	I.M.	Æ sq. 5 .28	Single-line legend in incuse, <i>Gojara</i> .	Ditto; the animal seems to be running.
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MĀSAPA

89	I.M.	Æ sq. 5.2 .35 × .28	Single-line legend in incuse, <i>Māsapa</i> .	Defaced.
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MAPAKA

90	I.M.	Æ 6.5 .31	Single-line legend across face of coin, <i>Mapaka</i> , in characters of about second century A. D.	Bull l. (?)
91	„	Æ 10.9 .35	Ditto.	Ditto, distinct.

YAMA

92	I.M.	Æ 8 .33	Two-line legend, (1) <i>Yama</i> , in characters of about 100 A. D., (2) illegible.	Ditto, indistinct (see No. 69 for an earlier Yama).
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PACHHA

93	I.M.	Æ 7.5 .31	Single-line legend across face of coin, <i>Pachha</i> .	(?) King's head r.; defaced.
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Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
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(?) MAGACHHA

94	I.M.	Æ 9.3 -34	Single-line legend across face of coin, apparently <i>Magachha</i> , but possibly another character precedes.	Bull l.
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GAJAVA

95	I.M.	Æ sq. 9.1 -35	<i>Gajava</i> across face of coin.	Defaced.
96	„	Æ sq. 6.5 -32	Ditto.	Animal r.
97	„	Æ sq. 8.4 -3	Ditto.	Ditto; (?) lion (Pl. XXI, 4).

JĀMAKA

98	I.M.	Æ 8.3 -33	<i>Jāmaka</i> across face of coin, in characters of about second century A. D.	Defaced.
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JAMAPAYA

99	I.M.	Æ 7 -29	<i>Jamapaya</i> across face of coin, the last character endwise.	Defaced or blank.
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PAYA

100	I.M.	Æ 12.5 -35	<i>Paya</i> across face of coin; the <i>ya</i> of late form, (?) about 300 A. D.	Bull l.
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MAHĀRĀYA

101	I.M.	Æ 8.3 -3	Legend in two lines, (1) (<i>Ma</i>) <i>h[ā]</i> , (2) <i>rāya</i> ; characters of about second century A. D.	Blank or wholly defaced (Pl. XXI, 5; unique, <i>Rep.</i> vi. 180).
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MARAJA

102	I.M.	Æ 8 -33	<i>Maraja</i> in incuse, complete.	Blank or wholly defaced.
103	„	Æ 8 -33	Ditto; characters of about second century A. D.; traces of two characters above.	Bull r. (Pl. XXI, 6).

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
Class C—Without legends				
104	I.M.	Æ 8.7 .43	Peacock facing front, with expanded tail filling the field ('open flower,' Rodgers).	Squatted human figure, with knees raised, to l. of coin; r. field with obscure marks (Pl. XXI, 7).
105	"	Æ oblong 11 .38 × .3	Vase containing flowers.	Bull standing l.
106	"	Æ sq. 1.7 .2	Pinnate palm-leaf.	Vase (the smallest coin in the collection; good condition).
107	"	Æ 4	Ditto.	Bull standing l.; good condition.
108	"	Æ 4 2.5	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto ('lion,' Rodgers).
109	"	Æ oblong 8 .35 × .3	Tree in railing; traces perhaps of <i>ja</i> , l., and <i>ya</i> , r.	(?) Antelope standing r.; a (?) tree behind, and a disk above the animal (Pl. XXI, 8).
110	"	Æ sq. 10.5 .35	Bull with large horns and spreading ears, standing front; a mark (?) character on r. margin.	Defaced (probably cast like some of the other thicker pieces, Pl. XXI, 9).

NĀGA OF NARWAR, FOURTH CENTURY A. D.

MAHĀRĀJĀ DEVA

Wheel type

Copper

1	I.M.	26 .4	Only <i>Śrī</i> legible; the full legend is <i>Mahārāja śrī Deva Nāgasya</i> .	Wheel with eight spokes; in poor condition (<i>C. M. I.</i> , Pl. II, 24).
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MAHĀRĀJĀ GAṆAPATI OR GAṆENDRA

Bull type

Copper

1	A.S.B.	Æ 12 .35	Marginal legend in large script, covering nearly the whole surface, <i>Mahārāja śrī Gaṇendra</i> .	Recumbent bull l., in dotted circle (Pl. XXI, 10).
2	"	Æ 21.5 .38	Ditto.	Ditto.
3	"	Æ 9.8 .37	Ditto.	Ditto.
4	"	Æ 10.5 .32	Ditto; legend imperfect.	Ditto.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
5	A.S.B.	Æ 6.3 .3	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
6	"	Æ 15.2 .36	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
7	I.M.	Æ 14.3 .35	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
8	"	Æ 12.2 .35	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; protuberance left in casting attached.
9	"	Æ 10.4 .32	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
10	"	Æ 10 .35	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
11	"	Æ 9.6 .4	Ditto; ditto (not fully legible).	Ditto.
12	"	Æ 10.2 .36	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
13	"	Æ 10.5 .35	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
14	"	Æ 9.8 .35	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
15	"	Æ 42 .45	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; weight and size unusual; very thick coin.

RĀJAÑYA (= KSHATRIYA), ABOUT SECOND OR FIRST CENTURY B. C.

Standing figure type

Copper

A. With Kharōshthī legend

1	A.S.B.	Æ 57.8 .83	Standing figure (? deity), with r. hand raised, as on N. Satrap coins. Kh. legend inside a wide margin, <i>Rajaña janapa[dasa]</i> , '[coin] of the Rajaña (Rājāñya) country.'	Humped bull standing l.; a symbol above; no rayed circle visible; worn smooth on both sides; die-struck, not cast; extremely rare; moderately thick.
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B. With Brāhmī legend

2	A.S.B.	Æ brass or pale bronze 22 .65	Similar; same legend complete.	Bull standing l. in a rayed circle; thin coin, cast in high relief (Pl. XXI, 11).
3	"	Æ copper 50.4 .65	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto, in bad condition; moderately thick; (?) hammered and die-struck.
4	"	Æ copper 79 .61	Ditto; legend imperfect.	Ditto; thick; certainly cast.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
5	A.S.B.	Æ brass or pale bronze 45.3 -68	As No. 4; legend imperfect.	As No. 4; moderately thick; worn.
6	I.M.	Æ brass or pale bronze 34.5 -65	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; as No. 2, in worse condition.
7	„	Æ brass or pale bronze 68.2 -65	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; thick, cast.
<i>Allied to above</i>				
8	I.M.	Æ copper 76 -75	Tree in railing. Br. legend, . . (?) <i>janapada</i> [sa].	Lion standing l., facing (?) a post; remains of marginal legend, apparently Br., and perhaps including <i>rājño</i> ; new type (Pl. XXI, 12).

YAUDHEYA

ANONYMOUS

Bull and elephant type; about beginning of Christian era

Copper

1	A.S.B.	Æ 31.5 -7	Bull standing r., facing a railing with curved object ('pillar with pendent garlands,' Cunningham) rising from it; early Br. legend यधेयन , for <i>Yo (Yau) dhe-yānām</i> .	Elephant moving r.; <i>nandipada</i> symbol above; thin coin.
2	„	Æ 48.3 -8	Similar, in worse condition; upper legend as above; legend at foot of bull ends in <i>me</i> . ¹	Ditto; mostly defaced.
3	„	Æ 38.5 -73	Similar; legends fragmentary.	Ditto; fairly well preserved; the elephant is passing a scythe-like object clearly shown (Pl. XXI, 13).
4	„	Æ 71.1 -8	Similar; ditto.	Ditto; a thick coarse coin, cast in a mould; in poor condition.

¹ Nobody has been able to read this legend.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
<i>Brass or similar alloy</i>				
5	I.M.	Æ 35.8 .8	Similar; legend, <i>kri</i> <i>ya[dhe]yana</i> . ¹	Similar; die-struck, thin; in poor condition (Pl. XXI, 14).
6	A.S.B.	Æ 40.3 .75	Similar; <i>yadhayana</i> legible.	Ditto; ditto.
7	"	Æ 42.2 .75	Similar; slightly concave; legend begins <i>kri</i> (? <i>ku</i>).	Similar; very rude; seems to be cast, and the metal looks different.

SVĀMĪ BRAHMAṆYA YAUDHEYA, ABOUT SECOND CENTURY A. D.

Copper

8	I.M.	Æ 165.7 1.0	Six-headed god (Kārttikeya) standing on lotus, facing, with l. hand on hip, and r. hand raised, towards barbed spear; legend in bold, irregularly placed script, <i>Brahmaṇya devasya bhā</i> . ²	Six-headed goddess standing on lotus, facing; tree in railing r.; six-arched <i>chaitya</i> with umbrella, and <i>nandipada</i> symbol l. (Pl. XXI, 15).
9	"	Æ 159.3 1.12	Six-headed god standing on pedestal, facing (? legend on pedestal); marginal legend in bold script, <i>Bra[h-m]anya devasya</i> , and <i>bhāga</i> .	Six-headed goddess standing on bent line, facing; r. hand raised, l. hand on hip; below her feet a tree lying on its side; to r., tree in railing, with <i>svastika</i> above it.
10	"	Æ 164.5 1.02	Six-headed god standing, facing, his r. hand clear of the spear, which stands obliquely in the field; <i>Brahma</i> legible.	Goddess and symbols as No. 8.
11	"	Æ 153 1.0	Similar; <i>manya deva</i> legible.	Ditto.
12	"	Æ 167.2 1.0	Similar; <i>ya bhagavataḥ sevamin</i> legible.	Ditto (Pl. XXI, 16).
13	"	Æ 132.5 1.05	Similar; mostly defaced.	Ditto.
14	"	Æ 174.5 1.07	Similar.	Ditto; but coin roughly hexagonal, tree l., and <i>chaitya</i> r.

¹ This legend, also, never has been fully read. Rodgers (*Lahore Catalogue*) suggested *Kṛipadhanaba Yaudheyana*; Cunningham proposed *Bhūmidhanuṣa*; and on a good specimen formerly in my cabinet the reading seemed to be *Bhūpadhanuṣa*. The second word *Yaudheyana* is certain.

² 'The correct reading on these coins seems undoubtedly to be *Brahmaṇya (Deva)*, the name of the Yaudheya king to which the type of the "six-headed" deity (*Ṣaḍānana*, *Brahmaṇya*, or *Kārttikeya*) also alludes' (Rapson, *J. R. A. S.*, 1903, p. 291).

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
15	I.M.	Æ 178.5 1.1	Six-headed god grasping spear; vase in r. field; legend on l. margin, <i>Kumārāsa</i> .	As No. 8, corroded (Pl. XXI, 17).
16	„	Æ 148.8 1.07	Six-headed god, defaced. Legend, r. <i>sa ku</i> .	Single-headed goddess, radiate; tree r.; wide blank margin.
17	A.S.B.	Æ 172.5 1.1	Six-headed god, grasping spear. Legend, <i>bhāgavata . . . sa Kumā</i> .	Six-headed goddess; tree r., <i>chaitya</i> l.; snake or river below.
18 ^a	I.M.	Æ 154.5 1.0	Single-headed god, radiate, facing; vase in r. field; traces of <i>Brahmaṇa deva</i> legend.	Ditto; corroded.
18 ^b	„	Æ 109.9 -97	Single-headed god, radiate, grasping spear. Legend, <i>devasya drama Bra[h-ma]ṇa</i> . ¹	Quadruped standing l., facing (?) tree; vase with streamers in r. field; dotted circle; much worn.
19	„	Æ 116.3 1.0	Similar; <i>nya devasya</i> legible.	Stag standing r.; crescent above, tree l.; (?) river below; worn, irregular shape.
20	„	Æ 119.5 1.07	Six-headed god; <i>Brahma</i> legible.	Quadruped standing r.; above a (?) shrine, with curved roof.

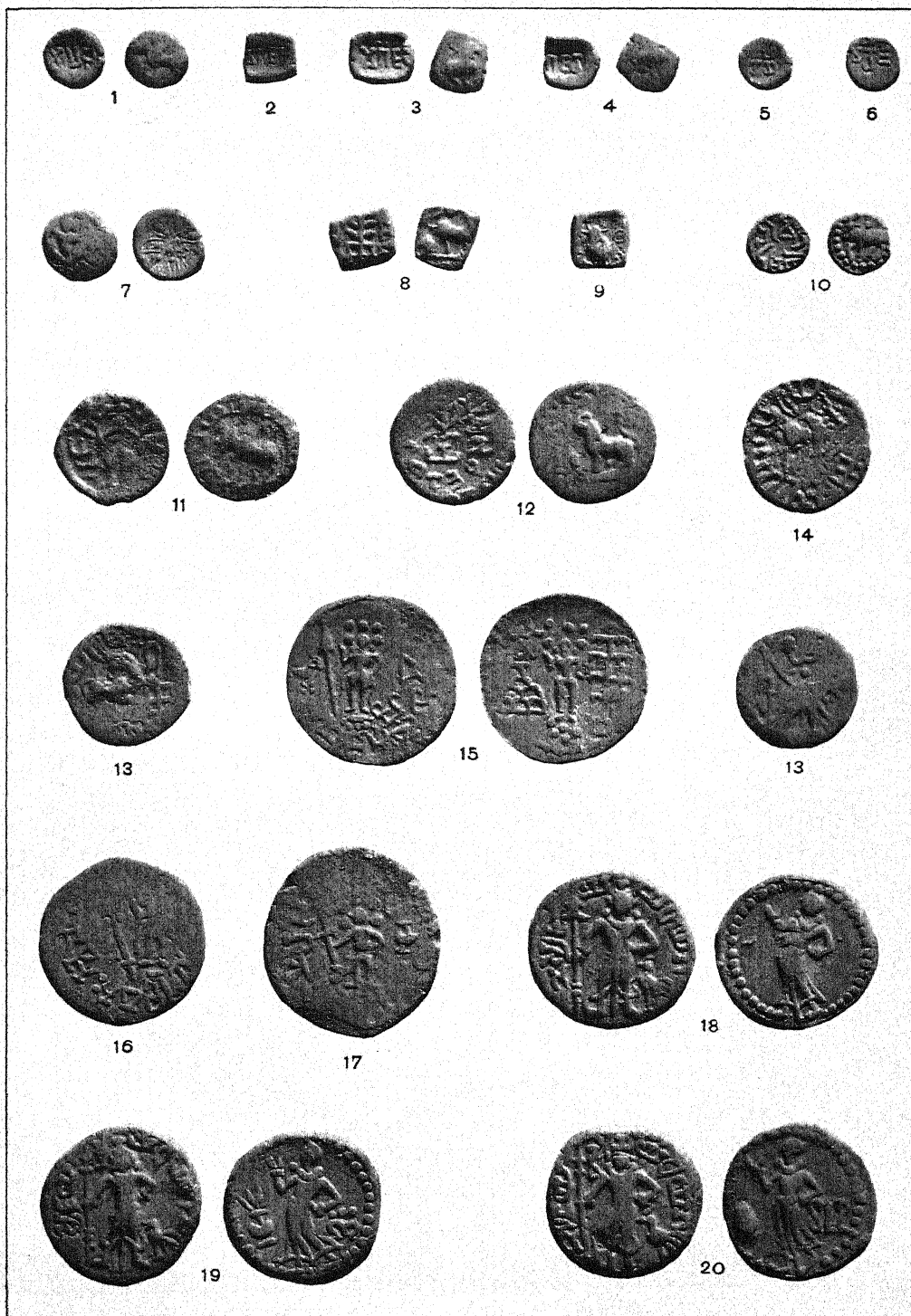
ANONYMOUS, THIRD OR FOURTH CENTURY A.D.

Warrior type; copper

Var. 1; no obv. numeral, no rev. symbol

21	I.M.	Æ 168 -95	Rājā or deity standing, facing front, grasping spear in r. hand, with l. hand on hip; cock l. at his l. foot. Br. legend in well-formed characters, <i>Yaudheya (Yodheya) ganasya jaya</i> , 'Victory to the Yaudheya tribe' (यधय गणस्यजय).	Robed male figure walking l., with r. hand extended, and l. hand on hip, like Miho on Kushān coins; dotted circle (Pl. XXI, 18).
22	„	Æ 164 -97	Similar; legend nearly complete.	Ditto.
23	„	Æ 168 -92	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.

¹ The word *drama* seems quite clear, but I cannot explain it. Cunningham notes 'on several specimens I find the word *dama* or *darma* over the back of deer' (*Reports*, xiv. 144). The full ordinary legend seems to be *Bhāgavatah svāmīno Brahmaṇya devasya*, ['coin] of Svāmī [a title] Brahmaṇya-deva, worshipper of Vishṇu.' I cannot explain with certainty the word *Kumāra* on Nos. 15-17, but it may be the name of a chief distinct from Brahmaṇya-deva. . . Cunningham (*loc. cit.*) thought it probable that other names might occur on these coins.



TRIBAL COINS

MĀLAVA, NĀGA, RĀJAÑYA, YAUDHEYA



Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
24	A.S.B.	Æ 163.9	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
25	„	Æ 170.1-05	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
26	„	Æ 181.2-1.0	Ditto; legend complete.	Ditto.

Var. 2; numeral DVI (2nd) on obv., vase on rev.

27	I.M.	Æ 165.8-94	As var. 1; but numeral <i>dvi</i> (2nd) over r. shoulder. (The name seems to read <i>Yaudheya</i> .)	As var. 1; but vase containing (?) flowers in l. field, and a symbol with three points and three dots in r. field (Pl. XXI, 19).
28	„	Æ 153.8-98	Similar.	Ditto.
29	„	Æ 164-95	Ditto.	Ditto.
30	A.S.B.	Æ 166-92	Ditto.	Ditto.

Var. 3; numeral TRI (3rd) on obv., shell on rev.

31	I.M.	Æ 173.3-95	As var. 2; but <i>tri</i> (3rd) over r. shoulder. (The name seems to read <i>Yaudheya</i> .)	As var. 2; but shell instead of vase, and a symbol composed of two snakes with line between instead of that on var. 2 (Pl. XXI, 20).
32	„	Æ 171.2-95	Similar.	Ditto.
33	„	Æ 178-95	Ditto.	Ditto.
34	„	Æ 174-96	Ditto.	Ditto.
35	„	Æ 162-95	Ditto.	Ditto.

SECTION VIII

KINGS OF NORTHERN PAÑCHĀLA (AHICHHATRĀ) AND KOSALA

INTRODUCTION

1. THE SO-CALLED 'MITRA DYNASTY'; COINS WITH INCUSE

THE remarkable series of coins characterized by a well-marked obverse incuse containing the ruler's name and certain symbols, usually in a set of three, is often spoken of as the coinage of the 'Mitra Dynasty', because the names of most of the kings end with the word *mitra* ('friend'). But the designation is not satisfactory, being equally applicable to other dynasties. Some writers, having rather hastily assumed Agnimitra of this dynasty to be identical with Agnimitra Śunga of the Puranic lists and the *Mālavikāgnimitra* drama, then proceeded to ascribe the whole series of coins in question to the Śungas. But, as Cunningham has shown (*C. A. I.*, p. 80), no sound reason exists for connecting these coins with the Śungas, who do not appear to have held the territories where the coins are found. The name of Agnimitra is the sole and insufficient reason for bringing the Śunga dynasty into connexion with the coins; all the other coin names differ from those in the Purāṇas and the play. Cunningham describes the coins in question as those of the country named Pañchāla, that is to say Northern Pañchāla, the modern Rohilkhand, comprising the Bareilly (Barēli) and other districts between the Ganges and the mountains. He is right in so far as it is true that these incuse coins are abundantly found at Ahichhatrā, the modern Rāmnagar near Aonlā in the Barēli District, which undoubtedly must have been an ancient capital of Northern Pañchāla, and probably was that of the kings who struck the incuse coins. But the great numismatist was in error when he stated that the coins are 'very rarely found' beyond the limits of Northern Pañchāla. I know from personal experience that the issues of several of the kings are common in eastern Oudh and in the Bastī District further east. Carlisle picked up a coin of Agnimitra at the fort of Bhuilā Dih in Bastī, and also obtained about a hundred others of the dynasty at the same place or near it (*Reports*, xii. 153, 165, 169; *J. A. S. B.*, part i, 1880, p. 21). The two coins of Indramitra formerly in my cabinet came

from Oudh, and I have seen many more collected in that province by other people. But, although it is inaccurate to say that the incuse coins are 'very rarely found' outside Rohilkhand, one of the principal sources of supply unquestionably is Ahichhatrā, where Colonel Rivett-Carnac obtained about a hundred and ten, described and illustrated by Mr. Carlleyle in *J. A. S. B.*, part i, 1880, pp. 21-8, with a plate, and *ibid.*, pp. 87-90, with three plates.

It is clear that the kingdom of the Rājās who issued these coins must have included eastern Oudh and Bastī, with, perhaps, Gorakhpur—in short, the old kingdom of Kosala. If we call these Rājās lords of Northern Pañchāla and Kosala we shall not be far wrong.

In the cold season of 1891-2 Dr. Führer excavated a two-storied Śaiva brick temple to the west of the great lingam at Rāmnagar (Ahichhatrā) and found a pot containing sixteen coins of this dynasty belonging to Dhruvāmītra, Sūryāmītra, Bhānumītra, Bhūmīmītra, Phalgunīmītra, Agnīmītra, Bṛhaspatīmītra, Indramītra, Viṣṇumītra, and Jayāmītra. Those coins presumably are now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum, which possesses a rich cabinet, not yet catalogued.

In the present catalogue the following kings are represented:—Agnīmītra, Bhadrāghoṣa, Bhānumītra, Bhūmīmītra, Indramītra, Phalgunīmītra, and Sūryāmītra. I have arranged the names alphabetically because I cannot find any sure criterion of relative date. The astronomical or astrological character of many of the names is noticeable. Both *Bhānu* and *Sūrya* mean the 'sun', *Bhūmi* is the 'earth', *Phalgunī* is the name of the eleventh and twelfth lunar asterisms or constellations, while *Dhruva* is the pole-star, and also a name of Viṣṇu. The rude devices on the reverse sometimes refer to the Rājā's name; e.g. the coins of Agnīmītra exhibit a personification of 'fire', and those of Sūryāmītra and Bhānumītra have solar emblems.

To judge from the script of the legends, the series seems to range between 100 B. C. and 100 A. D., but no independent evidence of date has been discovered so far.

Colonel Rivett-Carnac expressed his hope that 'a complete set may be accepted for the Society's Museum' (*J. A. S. B.*, part i, 1880, p. 90); but I have not received any such set from the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The coins catalogued all belong to the Indian Museum. Some poor specimens have been excluded.

2. ACHYUTA

These little coins, so far as is known, are found only at the site of Ahichhatrā (Rāmnagar near Aonlā, Barēli District, U.P.). The 'name' type was first published by Col. Rivett-Carnac (*J. A. S. B.*, 1880, part i, p. 87, Pl. VII, 2 A, B). The 'Roman head' type was first published by

me (*ibid.*, 1897, p. 302, Pl. XXXVIII, 16), from a coin then belonging to Mr. Delmerick, and subsequently sold to Sir James Bourdillon. That coin and the I. M. specimen are the only known examples of the type. M. Drouin (*Revue Num.*, 1898, p. 141), perceiving that the portrait is imitated from a Roman denarius, held that the 'Roman head' coins must be much older than the 'name' type coins. But the two types occur together at Ahichhatrā, have identical reverse, and legends of nearly identical script. I therefore ascribe both to the same king, without pretending to explain the apparent imitation of a Roman model at so late a time. For wheel reverse compare Deva Nāga of Narwar, who may be dated about 300 A.D. The king seems to have been the Achyuta of the Allahabad inscription, in which he is twice mentioned as conquered by Samudragupta (*J. R. A. S.*, 1897, pp. 420, 862).

Six fair duplicates and four worthless specimens of the 'name' type have been excluded from the catalogue. A good many specimens are in the Cunningham collection, B. M. The weights of the coins catalogued range from 9 to 30.7 grains, so that, apparently, there were at least three denominations. The coins show signs of considerable wear.

CATALOGUE

THE SO-CALLED 'MITRA' DYNASTY OF PAÑCHĀLA AND KOSALA, (?) ABOUT 100 B. C. TO 100 A. D.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
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*Copper or brass, circular, with incuse*¹

AGNIMITRA

1	I. M.	Æ 269 1.01	In square incuse, in early Br. script, <i>Agimitrasa</i> ; above, three symbols, which recur on nearly all the coins. ²	Figure, presumably of Agni (Fire), standing on low railing between two posts; five rays proceed from his head; massive (Pl. XXII, 1).
2	„	Æ brass 183.7 .95	Similar.	Similar figure, but standing on lotus.

¹ Most of these coins were collected by Colonel Rivett-Carnac, C.I.E., at Ahichhatrā (Rāmnagar).

² Carleyle interpreted these symbols as:—1., Bodhi tree standing on a square base or in a square railing; centre, a *lingam* guarded by two serpents (*Nāgas*), which rise up on each side of it; r., two serpents intertwined, forming a circular knot in the centre; but this explanation is very doubtful. The 1. symbol looks more like a *stūpa* with umbrella.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
3	I.M.	Æ 85.3 .75	Ditto.	Ditto.
4	„	Æ 87.2 .72	Ditto.	Ditto.
5	„	Æ 75.4 .7	Ditto.	Ditto.
6	„	Æ brass 87.5 .68	Ditto.	Ditto.

BHADRAGHOSHA

1	I.M.	Æ 285.2 1.07	<i>Bhadraghosasa</i> in incuse, with usual symbols above.	Defaced; very massive.
2	„	Æ 218 1.0	<i>Bhadraghosasa</i> in shallow incuse; a single symbol in small square inset incuse above.	Defaced (Pl. XXII, 2).
3	„	Æ 21.4 .47	<i>Bhadraghosasa</i> , with usual three symbols above, all in incuse.	Traces of very rude, dumpy, standing figure.

BHĀNUMITRA

1	I.M.	Æ 240.5 1.07	<i>Bhānumitrāsa</i> , with three symbols above, all in large incuse. The central usual symbol is replaced by another in a separate inset incuse.	Defaced.
2	„	Æ 115 .85	<i>Bhānumitrāsa</i> , with rude radiate female figure above, parallel with legend, instead of usual three symbols.	Ditto (Pl. XXII, 3).
3	„	Æ 16 .42	<i>Bhānumitrāsa</i> , with usual symbols above, in shallow incuse.	Railing with a post at each end, flanked by ‘taurines’ (or ? sun and moon); above, solar symbol of disk surrounded by eight pellets; fine (Pl. XXII, 4).
4	„	Æ 31.8 .5	Ditto; ditto.	Five-pointed flame rising from a <i>nandipada</i> symbol (Pl. XXII, 5).

BHŪMITRA

1	I.M.	Æ 203.7 .97	<i>Bhūmimitrāsa</i> , with the usual symbols, in incuse.	Figure, like that of Agni on coins of Agnimitra; but here the rail posts have cross-bars.
2	„	Æ brass 193 .9	Ditto.	Ditto (Pl. XXII, 6).

188 KINGS OF NORTHERN PAÑCHĀLA AND KOSALA

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
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INDRAMITRA

1	I.M.	Æ 67.2 .68	<i>Idramitrassa</i> , with the usual symbols, in incuse.	Squat figure standing on pedestal or low railing.
2	„	Æ 63.5 .62	Ditto.	Ditto.
3	„	Æ 67.2 .62	Ditto.	Ditto.

PHALGUNIMITRA

1	I.M.	Æ 198 .98	<i>Phagunimitrassa</i> , with usual symbols, in incuse.	Figure, standing on lotus, closely resembling that of Agni (Pl. XXII, 7).
2	„	Æ 225.7 .98	Ditto.	Ditto.

SŪRYAMITRASA

1	I.M.	Æ 221.5 1.0	<i>Sūyamitrassa</i> , with usual symbols, in incuse.	Defaced.
2	„	Æ 212 .95	Ditto.	Railing with a post at each end; sun between posts; almost defaced.
3	„	Æ 88 .72	Ditto.	Ditto; the triangular-headed symbol ('altar,' Cunningham), below the sun visible.

ACHYUTA, KING OF AHICCHATRĀ, 330 A. D.

Copper, circular

'Roman head' type, apparently die-struck

1	I.M.	Æ 18.3 .42	Head and neck of king r., as on a Roman denarius. Behind head A, in front <i>chyu</i> , but on this specimen illegible.	Wheel or sun with eight spokes (Pl. XXII, 8; <i>J. A. S. B.</i> , 1897, part i, p. 302, Pl. XXXVIII, 16).
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'Name' type, cast

2	I.M.	Æ 22.7 .52	<i>Achyu</i> in bold characters in high relief.	Wheel or sun with eight spokes (Pl. XXII, 9; <i>J. A. S. B.</i> , <i>ut sup.</i> , fig. 15).
3	„	Æ 30.7 .55	Ditto.	Ditto.
4	„	Æ 25 .55	Ditto.	Ditto.
5	„	Æ 19.7 .63	Ditto.	Ditto.

‘MITRA’ DYNASTY OF PAÑCHĀLA AND KOSALA 189

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
6	I.M.	Æ 19.4 .58	Ditto.	Ditto.
7	„	Æ 16.2 .5	Ditto.	Ditto.
8	„	Æ 14.8 .5	Ditto.	Ditto.
9	„	Æ 12.3 .46	Ditto.	Ditto.
10	„	Æ 9 .48	Ditto.	Ditto; very thin coin.

SECTION IX

THE RĀJĀS AND SATRAPS OF MATHURĀ AND VĪRASENA

INTRODUCTION

THE RĀJĀS AND SATRAPS OF MATHURĀ

RECENT research has disclosed the names of a large number of early Rājās ruling either at Mathurā (Muttra, N. lat. $27^{\circ}30'13''$, E. long. $77^{\circ}43'45''$), or over territories in the immediate neighbourhood of that ancient city. The Rājās whose coins are described in the catalogue are Balabhūti, Purushadatta, Bhavadatta (unpublished), Uttamadatta, Rāmadatta, Gomitra, Vishnumitra, Brahmanitra, and ?Sūrya (Suya). There is also a doubtful name (uncertain, No. 1) which may be Ghosha. Other names known are Śeshadatta, Kāmadatta, Śivadatta, and Śisuchandradatta or -chandrāta (?) (*J. R. A. S.*, 1900, pp. 109–15). Cunningham knew of only three specimens of Balabhūti; four more are now described, and three bad specimens have been excluded. The coins of Purushadatta also are rare. Carlleyle found a specimen at Bhulā Dih in Basti District, U.P., to the east of Oudh (*Reports*, xii. 145, 164). Bhavadatta is new, but see *J. R. A. S.*, 1900, p. 113. Three are now added to the five specimens of Uttamadatta previously known. The coins of Rāmadatta are fairly common. Carlleyle found examples associated with coins of the satraps Rañjubula and Śoḍāsa at Indor Kherā in the Bulandshahr District, U.P. (*Reports*, xii. 43).

The coins of Gomitra, Vishnumitra, Brahmanitra, and Sūrya (Suya) are scarce, but sometimes obtainable at Mathurā. They are, I think, later than those of the princes previously named.

Probably all these Rājās, some of whom may have been contemporary with each other, are earlier than the foreign satraps with Persian names. The most ancient of the satraps seem to be Hagāna and Hagāmāsha, presumably brothers, who introduced a reverse device of a horse. The coins of Hagāmāsha as satrap alone are fairly common, and it would appear that he was the younger brother and survivor of Hagāna. He seems to have been directly followed by Rañjubula or Rājuvula, who struck hemidrachmae in base silver, resembling and associated with the coins of Strato II, as well as bronze coins after the manner of the Rājās.

Śoḍāsa was undoubtedly the son of Rañjubula, and if we knew the era of the date 72 on his Mathurā inscription the chronology would be clear. The Mathurā satraps were intimately associated with the satraps of Taxila, whose few coins are not represented in this catalogue.

The satraps of both Taxila and Mathurā by their use of a Persian title and by their names plainly show their connexion with the Persian or Parthian empire; and their rule was, I believe, a consequence of the conquest of the kingdom of Taxila by the Parthian king Mithradates I in or about 138 B. C. Rañjubula and Śoḍāsa may be placed, according to my view, in the last quarter of the second century B. C., somewhere about 125–100 B. C., and the date 72 of Śoḍāsa's inscription must be interpreted accordingly. But this theory of the chronology is not universally accepted. Cunningham obtained thirteen coins of Rañjubula at Sultānpur in the Jālandhar (Jullunder) District, Panjāb (*Reports*, xiv. 57). His coins have been procured also at Sankisa in the Farrukhābād District, U. P., and, in association with those of his son Śoḍāsa, at Pādham in the adjoining District of Mainpuri (*Reports*, xi. 25, 38). The distribution of the coins of Rañjubula led Cunningham to believe that his dominions included a large portion of north-western India, extending from Kāngrā, at the foot of the Himalayas, to Multān in one direction, and to Mathurā in the other (*Reports*, iii. 41). But this estimate may be considered somewhat excessive.

The printed notices of the coins of the Rājās and Satraps of Mathurā have been indicated sufficiently above and in the catalogue. The position of the satraps in relation to the Parthian empire has been discussed briefly (p. 21) in my essay entitled 'The Indo-Parthian Dynasties, from about 120 B. C. to 100 A. D.' (*Z. D. M. G.*, January, 1906).

VĪRASENA

The coins of this ruler are most readily procured in the Mathurā bazaar, where Cunningham obtained about a hundred. Carlleyle got thirteen at Indor Khera in the Bulandshahr District, while Mr. Burn and others have collected them in the Etah (Ītā) District, as well as at Kanauj and other places in the neighbouring Farrukhābād District. It is clear, therefore, that Vīrasena ruled in the Central Doāb, between the Ganges and Jumna. His coins are scarcer in the Panjāb. Four specimens are in Rodgers' collection at Lahore, and I formerly possessed an exceptionally minute one (diam. .3), which came from the Panjāb. The commonest variety consists of the small rectangular pieces about .45 in diam., with a palm-tree on obverse and the rudé outline of a crowned female figure on the reverse. Sometimes the reverse is blank. The variety with the name only in an incuse on obverse, and blank or animal reverse (Catal. Nos. 1–3) seems to be rare, and has not been published previously.

I am disposed to think that the coins of this class were issued by an earlier homonymous king. Mr. Burn has one round coin of Virasena, but I have seen only the rectangular pieces. Mr. Burn found a brief inscription with the name Virasena in the year 1896 at Jānkhāṭ in the south of the Farrukhābād District, which probably refers to the Rājā who issued the 'palm-tree' coins. I read the date on a rough copy as 113 *Grishma* (i. e. hot season), which probably indicates that the record is dated in the year 113 of the era used by the Kushān kings, which, according to my view, began about 120 A. D. If so, the date of the inscription would be about 335 A. D. The characters of the legends on the 'palm-tree' coins may be as late, although they look rather earlier. Mr. Burn was inclined to read the date of the inscription as 13; but, apparently, that would fall in the reign of Kanishka, and it is unlikely that he would have allowed Virasena to coin extensively in a province adjoining the Panjāb.

See *C. A. I.*, Pl. VIII, 18; Carlleyle in *Reports*, xiv. 41; Rapson and Burn in *J. R. A. S.*, 1900, pp. 115, 552.

CATALOGUE

RĀJĀS OF MATHURĀ, ABOUT SECOND CENTURY B. C.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
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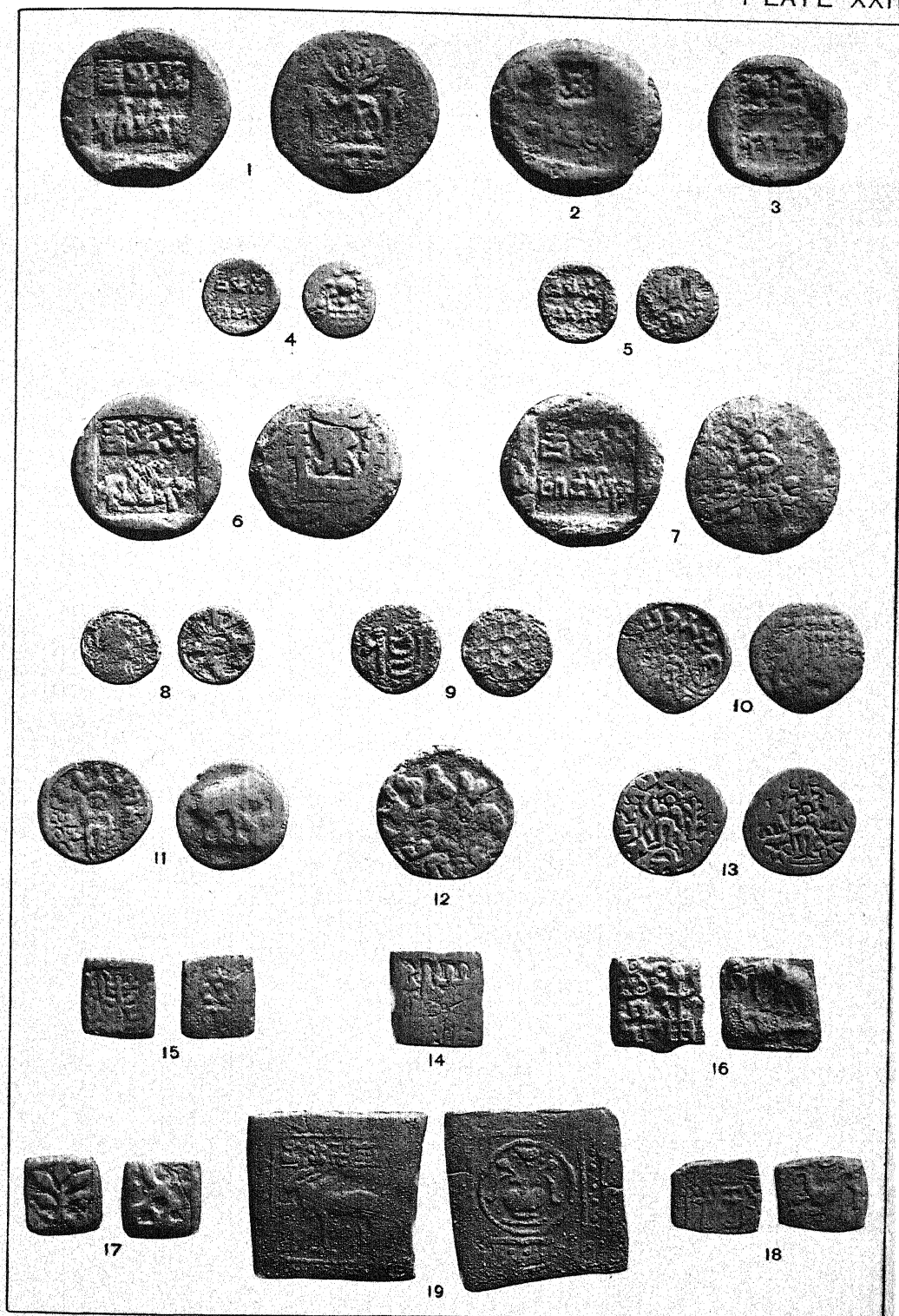
Copper or brass

BALABHŪTI

1	<i>I.M.</i>	Æ 84.7 .7	Figure facing front, r. hand raised; early Br. legend on upper margin, [Rā]jño Balabhūtisa.	Rows of dots (<i>C. A. I.</i> , Pl. VIII, 8).
2	"	Æ 72.7 .7	Ditto; ditto; a symbol to l. of figure.	Obscure, defaced.
3	"	Æ 72 -73	Ditto; ditto; the symbol to l. is Ψ, and to r. ♂.	Two rows of dots and (?).
4	"	Æ 81 -62	Device defaced; legend, [Ba]labhūtisa.	Defaced; thick coin.

PURUSHADATTA

1	<i>I.M.</i>	Æ 99 -8	Device defaced; early Br. legend, <i>Purushadatasā</i> .	Defaced (<i>C. A. I.</i> , Pl. VIII, 17).
2	"	Æ 79.5 -7	Standing figure; symbol to r.; legend, [Pu]rushadatasā.	Apparently elephant l., with two rows of dots above (Pl. XXII, 10).



COINS OF N. PANCHĀLA AND MATHURĀ
MISCELLANEOUS ANCIENT
RECTANGULAR CAST



Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
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BHAVADATTA

1	A.S.B.	Æ brass 100.5 .8	Traces of standing figure and same symbols as on coins of Balabhūti. Two-line Br. legend, (1) <i>Rājño</i> , (2) <i>Bhavadatasa</i> (much worn, but reading certain, (1) Γ^{Ξ}_{H} (2) $\text{H}\Delta\gamma\Lambda\text{Z}$).	Elephant moving r. (Unpublished; cp. <i>J. R. A. S.</i> , 1900, p. 113, fig. 13; with elephant l., but probably same legend.)
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UTTAMADATTA

1	A.S.B.	Æ brass 69 .7	Standing figure, with r. hand raised, as usual in this class; to l. a conventional tree. Legend, <i>Rājā</i> (not <i>Rājño</i>) <i>Utamadatasā</i> .	Elephant in high relief, moving r. (Pl. XXII, 11; also in <i>J. R. A. S.</i> , 1900, p. 109, fig. 8),
2	I.M.	Æ copper 55.8 .7	Standing figure; <i>Utamadatasā</i> .	Defaced.
3	,,	Æ copper 54 .63	Ditto; [<i>U</i>] <i>tamadatasā</i> .	Elephant moving r.

RĀMADATTA

1	I.M.	Æ 108.2 .82	Usual standing figure; early Br. legend in large characters, (<i>Rā</i>) <i>madatasā</i> .	Obscure; should be three elephants with riders (Pl. XXII, 12).
2	,,	Æ 104 .85	Similar; legend complete.	Defaced.
3	,,	Æ 94.5 .87	Similar; <i>Rāma</i> (<i>data</i>) <i>sa</i> .	Ditto; two rows of dots.
4	,,	Æ 95 .82	Similar; <i>Rāmada</i> [<i>tasa</i>]; tree l.	Trident; dots above.
5	,,	Æ 104 .88	Similar; the figure stands on a low railing or pedestal; <i>Rāma</i> (<i>da</i>) <i>tasa</i> .	Two rows of dots above, apparently indicating the heads of elephants.
6	A.S.B.	Æ imperfect .88	Similar; <i>Rāma</i> .	Similar, defaced; a protuberance left in casting.
7	,,	Æ 90.5 .87	Similar; traces of legend.	Obscure.
8	,,	Æ 71 .7	Similar; <i>datasā</i> .	Ditto; worn smooth.

Doubtful

9	I.M.	Æ 95.2 .93	Standing figure counter-sunk in oblong incuse r.; an obscure symbol in shallow square incuse l.	Defaced; cast.
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Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
10	I.M.	Æ 108.3 .82	Similar to No. 9; but oblong incuse l., and figure radiate; no second incuse.	Defaced; cast.
11	"	Æ 85.6 .78	Similar, but the single oblong incuse is r.	Ditto; apparently an elephant's head and trunk in centre.

GOMITRA

1	A.S.B.	Æ oblong 98 .75 x .6	The usual standing figure; tree l.; another symbol r. Br. legend above, <i>Gomitrasa</i> , indistinct. ¹	Obscure; cast (<i>C. A. I.</i> , Pl. VIII, 11; <i>J. R. A. S.</i> , 1894, p. 554, fig. 11).
2	"	Æ brass circular	Similar.	Defaced; thick, die-struck.

VISHNUMITRA

1	A.S.B.	Æ copper 78.5 .7	Usual standing figure and tree. Legend, <i>Vishnumitrasa</i> , indistinct.	Worn smooth (<i>J. R. A. S.</i> , <i>ut sup.</i> , fig. 12).
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BRAHMAMITRA

1	A.S.B.	Æ copper 92 .75	Usual standing figure and tree. Legend, imperfect, <i>Brahmamitrasa</i> .	Apparently blank; a protuberance left in casting.
2	"	Æ 89.3 .7	Similar.	Traces of a device.
3	"	Æ 65.5 .65	Ditto.	Apparently blank. (All very poor; see <i>C. A. I.</i> , Pl. VIII, 12.)

UNCERTAIN

1	I.M.	Æ 17.8 .6	Standing figure, very rude. Legend seems to include [<i>bhāga</i>] <i>vata gh[o]-sathā</i> (?).	Horse moving l.; thin coin.
2	"	Æ 99 .8	Usual standing figure; <i>rājño</i> ; possibly <i>Gomitra</i> .	Defaced.
3	A.S.B.	Æ brass 113.3 .8	Usual figure; 'Ujjain symbol' r.; legend illegible.	Probably three elephants.
4	I.M.	Æ 86.2 .7	Usual figure; (<i>data</i>) <i>mahārājasa</i> .	Defaced.
5	"	Æ 65.2 .7	Ditto; traces of <i>mahārājasa</i> .	Three figures, each with four dots for upper parts, possibly elephants facing.
6	"	Æ 67.8 .65	Ditto; <i>rājasa</i> .	Apparently elephants facing.

¹ It is possible to read these legends either as *-mitrasa* or *-mitasa*, *ta* being sometimes written with a downward prolongation on right side.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
7	I.M.	Æ 30.47	Device uncertain. Legend perhaps [<i>Bha</i>] <i>vadatasā</i> .	Defaced.
8	"	Æ brass 95.5.7	Usual figure. Legend probably <i>Sūya</i> (<i>Sūrya</i>) <i>mī-tasā</i> .	Defaced.

SATRAPS OF MATHURĀ, ABOUT 125 TO 80 B.C.

Copper or brass

HAGĀNA AND HAGĀMĀSHA

1	A.S.B.	Æ 54.8.65	Three-line legend (1) <i>Khatapānā</i> (2) <i>Hagānasa</i> (3) <i>Hagāmāshasa</i> , '[Coin] of the satraps Hagāna and Hagāmāsha'; at top, female figure parallel with legend; at r. side, thunderbolt (<i>vajra</i>).	Horse left; worn (C.A.I., Pl. VIII, 7).
2	"	Æ 56.8.65	Similar; not quite complete.	Ditto; ditto.
3	"	Æ 54.3.73	Ditto; ditto; also a tree-like symbol below legend.	Ditto; horse well preserved.
4	I.M.	Æ 84.7	Ditto; ditto; ditto.	Ditto; worn.
5	"	Æ 60.73	Ditto; ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
6	"	Æ 28.65	Ditto; defaced, only <i>Khatapa</i> legible.	Horse r., with man in front; thin coin.

HAGĀMĀSHA ALONE

1	I.M.	Æ 91.3.77	Figure standing on pedestal, nearly as on coins of the Rājās; tree-like symbol in r. field. Marginal Br. legend, <i>Khatapasa Hagāmāshasa</i> , '[Coin] of the satrap Hagāmāsha.'	Horse l. (C.A.I., Pl. VIII, 6).
2	A.S.B.	Æ 64.5.67	Similar; legend incomplete.	Ditto.
3	"	Æ 74.3.77	Similar; much damaged.	Ditto; worn.
4	"	Æ 76.3.8	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
5	I.M.	Æ 19.7.65	Ditto; traces of legend, thunderbolt r.	Ditto; ditto; thin coin (may belong to Hagāna and Hagāmāsha).

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
6	I.M.	Æ 59.7	Similar to No. 1; damaged.	As No. 1; worn.
7	"	Æ 74.1	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; horse r.
8	"	Æ 57	Ditto; legend almost complete.	Ditto; horse l.
9	"	Æ 45.2	Ditto; - <i>tapasa</i> legible.	Ditto; horse r.
10	A.S.B.	Æ brass 44.5	Ditto; - <i>gāmāsha</i> legible.	Ditto; ditto.
		.63		

RAÑJUBULA (RĀJUVULA), ABOUT 110 B. C.

Silver, base

1	I.M.	Æ 38.5	Head of satrap diad. r., as on coins of Strato II; corrupt Greek legend.	Pallas l., holding aegis in l. hand, hurling thunderbolt with r. Kh. legend, <i>mahachatrapasa</i> , and <i>ha</i> in l. field; name lost (<i>C. A. I.</i> , Pl. VIII, 2, 3; <i>J. R. A. S.</i> , 1894, p. 547, fig. 2, 3).
2	"	Æ 34	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto; character in r. field.
		.53		

Copper (bronze)

3	I.M.	Æ 45.3	Standing female, as on coins of the Rājās. Br. marginal legend, [<i>Mahā-khatapasa</i>] <i>Rājuvulusa</i> , '[Coin] of the great satrap Rājuvula.'	Defaced (<i>C. A. I.</i> , Pl. VIII, 4; <i>J. R. A. S.</i> , <i>ut sup.</i> , fig. 4).
		.62		

SODĀSA, SON OF RAÑJUBULA

Copper (bronze)

1	A.S.B.	Æ 24.5	Standing female and tree-like symbol r., as on coins of the Rājās. Br. marginal legend, [<i>Mahākhatapasa putasa khatapasa Śo</i>] <i>dāsasa</i> ; '[Coin] of the satrap Ś., son of the great satrap.'	Defaced; traces of Lakshmi and elephants (<i>C. A. I.</i> , Pl. VIII, 5; <i>J. R. A. S.</i> , <i>ut sup.</i> , fig. 5, 6).
		.58		
2	"	Æ 29	Similar; <i>dāsasa</i> legible; <i>svastika</i> at end of legend.	Ditto.
		.63		
3	"	Æ 98.8	Similar; <i>mahākhatapasa</i> legible.	Lakshmi with elephants pouring water over her (Pl. XXII, 13).
		.7		
4	"	Æ 74.5	Similar; <i>khatapasa putasa khatapasa Śo</i> .	Ditto; nearly defaced.
		.75		

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
5	I.M.	Æ 49.4 .63	Standing female as usual. Br. legend arranged parallel to figure, r., <i>khata-pasa</i> ; l., [<i>Śo</i>] <i>dāsasa</i> .	Ditto; very rude (unpublished variety of obv.).
6	„	Æ 45 .7	Standing female as usual. Marginal legend, <i>Khata-pasa</i> (<i>Śodāsasa</i>). ¹	Defaced.

VĪRASENA, A KING IN THE GANGETIC DOĀB, (?) ABOUT 300 A. D.

Copper, rectangular, die-struck

1	I.M.	Æ 29 .6	<i>Virasena</i> in early Br. script, in shallow incuse at top; rest blank.	(?) an animal; worn (Pl. XXII, 14).
2	A.S.B.	Æ 34 .6	Ditto; worn.	Apparently the hind part of a bull.
3	I.M.	Æ 22 .42	<i>senasa</i> only in shallow incuse at top; rest blank.	Apparently blank; (resembles some Mālava coins). ²
4	A.S.B.	Æ 32.8 .65	Above, <i>V[ī]rasenasa</i> ; below, palm-tree and ornaments.	Rude standing figure; r. hand raised, l. hand on hip; worn (C. A. I., Pl. VIII, 18).
5	I.M.	Æ 24.2 .52 × .45	Similar.	Rude sketch of standing female, with rayed crown (Pl. XXII, 15).
6	A.S.B.	Æ 28.7 .5 × .45	Similar; <i>ra senasa</i> .	Apparently blank.
7	I.M.	Æ 19.7 .46	Similar; <i>Virasenasa</i> .	Rude female figure, apparently seated l.
8	„	Æ 14.5 .45	Ditto; ditto.	Indication of crowned female.
9	A.S.B.	Æ 24.1 .45	Ditto; <i>ra senasa</i> .	Ditto.
10	I.M.	Æ 21.3 .45 × .4	Ditto; <i>Virasenasa</i> ; the ornaments at lower corners are a form of 'taurine'.	Ditto.
11	A.S.B.	Æ 21 .45	Ditto; <i>ra senasa</i> .	Almost defaced.
12	I.M.	Æ 21.3 .45 × .4	Ditto; <i>Virasena</i> .	Indication of crowned female.
13	„	Æ 20.7 .47	Ditto; <i>V[ī]ras[e]nasa</i> .	Ditto.
14	„	Æ 22 .45	Ditto; <i>s[e]nasa</i> .	Ditto.

¹ On these coins *Khatapasa* may be read as *Khatrapasa*.

² Nos. 1-3, as remarked in the Introduction, may be of earlier date than the others.

SECTION X

UNASSIGNED MISCELLANEOUS ANCIENT COINS OF NORTHERN INDIA

INTRODUCTION

THE simple process of making coins by casting in a mould seems to be little inferior in antiquity in India to that of stamping bars or ingots. Comparatively few of the numerous cast coins of ancient India are blank on the reverse. Most of them have a device or legend, or both, on each face, and were made by joining two moulds together. All the cast coins are of copper, including in that term various alloys. The most ancient examples probably are to be found among the rude rectangular pieces which are abundant in Oudh, Benares, and the neighbouring districts.

Cunningham considered the *chaitya* and tree coin of *C. A. I.*, Pl. I, 29, to be 'rather rare'; but I should be disposed to call it 'rather common'. Six examples of it have been catalogued, ranging in weight from 27.5 to 61 grains. No. 16 with the legend *Kunhama* is novel, and I cannot explain the meaning of the word. No. 19 is the largest rectangular cast coin that I have seen.

The circular cast coins, no doubt, were, to a large extent, contemporary with the rectangular ones. The types '*chaitya* and elephant' and '*chaitya* and bull' served as models for the much improved anonymous coins struck by some of the Western Satraps between 225 and 236 A.D. (*C. M. I.*, p. 7, with correction of date of No. 10 from 129 to 158, *Rapson*); and this fact helps us to fix a posterior limit for the cast coinage in Ujjain and the neighbourhood. Of course, in different parts of India the practice varied greatly, and the old-fashioned methods of coining must have lingered in some places longer than in others; but in the Panjāb and upper Gangetic provinces the cast coins are, I should think, probably all earlier than 100 A.D. They must have been driven out of circulation largely by the abundant copper issues of the Kushān kings. In Mālwa (Avanti, Ujjain), as remarked above, the cast coinage may have lasted until 200 A.D., or even a little later.

The anonymous coins apparently die-struck include one silver specimen of minute size. The rest are all copper or brass. The metal has not been analysed, and by 'brass' I mean an alloy that looks like

brass—it may be a pale bronze. The lead coins, Nos. 15–21, ranging in weight from 43.5 to 63.2 grains, are too rude to admit of exact description or reproduction. There is nothing to indicate their age. Some specimens formerly in my cabinet were believed to come from the ancient site Atranjī Kherā in the Etah (Ītā) District, U. P. Those catalogued may come from the same place, which was inspected by Cunningham (*Reports*, i. 269; xi. 15).

The inscribed circular coins, mostly die-struck (class IV), comprise many remarkable pieces, some of which seem to be unpublished. The script on the coins of Brahmanitra and Gomitra (Nos. 1, 2), appears to be nearly, if not quite, as old as that of the Aśoka edicts. The names recur in the series of the Rājās of Mathurā (*ante*, Sect. IX) at a later date. Carlleyle 'picked up' a specimen of Jyeshthadattadeva's coinage at the extremely ancient site of Bairānt in the Benares District (*Reports*, xxii. 15), which may be the coin catalogued (No. 3). I do not know of any other specimen. The coin (No. 4) on which I read *Kavirasa jaya*, with *jaya* written reversed, also appears to be unique. Other examples of reversed legends occur in the Mālava class (*ante*, Sect. VII). The little piece (No. 17) with blank rev. and *Dephā* on obv. is very curious, and I cannot guess the meaning of the word. The *Devāsa* class (separately numbered) is puzzling. The coins are common in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, and a good specimen which I formerly possessed came from Kōsam in the Allahabad District. The upper characters look like numerals in the old notation. The reading *devasa* is due to Prof. Rapson. The first character, being peculiar in form, has been read generally as *Ne*, but *De* appears to be the correct reading. There is nothing to indicate who Deva was.

CATALOGUE

I. RECTANGULAR CAST COINS, EARLY

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
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Copper

(1) AS C. A. I., Pl. I, 28

1	I.M.	Æ 59.7 ·6	Tree in railing; <i>chaitya</i> ; square cross; and a form of 'taurine'.	Elephant l.; triangular-headed symbol; 'taurine' (Pl. XXII, 16).
2	„	Æ 64 ·58	Similar.	Similar.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
3	I.M.	Æ 41 ·58	Similar to No. 1.	As No. 1; with <i>svastika</i> .
4	A.S.B.	Æ 62·5 ·65	Ditto.	Elephant l.; squarecross; triangular-headed symbol.
5	I.M.	Æ — ·58	Ditto; worn.	As No. 3, but differently arranged: a protuberance left in casting.
6	A.S.B.	Æ — ·6	Ditto; ditto.	Similar; with bar ·37 long attached.
7	„	Æ — ·57	Ditto; fairly good.	Ditto; with protuberance.
8	„	Æ 29·6 ·5	Ditto; corroded.	Ditto; corroded.
9	„	Æ 13 ·37	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.

(2) AS C. A. I., Pl. I, 29

10	I.M.	Æ — ·55	Tree with ovate-lanceolate leaves.	<i>Chaitya</i> of three arches, with crescent above; protuberance from casting.
11	„	Æ 58 ·5	Ditto.	Ditto (Pl. XXII, 17).
12	„	Æ 61 ·5	Ditto.	Ditto.
13	„	Æ 53·2 ·55	Ditto.	Ditto.
14	A.S.B.	Æ 56·3 ·5	Ditto.	Ditto.
15	I.M.	Æ 27·5 ·45	Ditto.	Ditto.

(3) VARIOUS

α. *Inscribed*

16	I.M.	Æ 40 ·57 × ·45	Tree l. Legend in large letters <i>Kuṇhama</i> , with apparently <i>ya</i> above.	A (?) tiger springing l. (Pl. XXII, 18).
17	„	Æ 9·4 ·45	Snake below; obscure symbols, and remains of legend including <i>yo</i> .	Elephant l., and (?) tree; thin coin, probably from eastern districts.
18	„	Æ 16·7 ·5 × ·42	Solar symbol; traces of legend.	Humped bull l.
18α	A.S.B.	Æ — hexagonal ·55	Elephant l.; above, Br. legend, <i>bhāga</i> . .	Tree and (?).

β. *Not inscribed*

19	A.S.B.	Æ 139·6 1·1	Humped bull standing l. in a square; row of symbols above, <i>svastika</i> , &c.	Circle inside square, containing vase on stand with streamers and (?) flowers. Remarkable for large size (Pl. XXII, 19).
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Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
20	I.M.	Æ 118.3 .7 x .55	Lion or tiger l., facing a bunch of three stems (? fire) springing from the ground, and beyond it the triangular-headed symbol common on ancient coins.	Blank.
21	"	Æ 72.7 .52	Humped bull l., with crescent in front.	Ditto.
22	"	Æ 80.6 .6 x .5	Similar to No. 21, but no distinct objects in front of animal.	Ditto.
23	"	Æ 23.8 .4 x .35	A sort of 'taurine' in high relief.	Ditto.
24	"	Æ 24.3 .4	Ditto.	Ditto.
25	"	Æ 18 .37 x .32	Ditto.	Ditto. (These three coins have a button of metal from the casting at the back.)
26	"	Æ 19.7 .30	Rude human figure l., with r. hand raised; (?) traces of legend r.	Two pellets in relief (possibly Malava; Pl. XXIII, 1).
27	A.S.B.	Æ 38.5 .7	Obscure symbols in a curved frame.	Obscure symbols with long straight lines.
28	I.M.	Æ 52.8 .6	Tree in railing, in circle of which a snake is the base.	Elephant l., facing a symbol.
29	"	Æ 35 .5	Square cross.	Elephant r.
30	"	Æ 21.7 .5	Ditto.	Ditto.
31	A.S.B.	Æ — .58	Three-arched <i>chaitya</i> , crescent above.	Elephant l.; corroded.
32	I.M.	Æ brass 60.7 .65	Three-arched <i>chaitya</i> , with crescent above, standing under an arch.	Humped bull r. with tail raised, and feet tied together, facing a railing with (?) tree in it, on which (?) a bird pecking the bull (Pl. XXIII, 2).
33	"	Æ 15 .45	Tree in railing; St. Andrew's cross with balls at ends of arms; square cross.	Humped bull l.; <i>svastika</i> above.
34	"	Æ 6.8 .45	Similar, but partly defaced.	Similar, but mostly defaced.
35	"	Æ 23.7 .47	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; fairly good; an object before bull.
36	A.S.B.	Æ 45.5 .5	Solar symbol composed of 'taurines' and broad arrow-heads attached to central boss.	<i>Svastika</i> opening to r.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
37	A.S.B.	Æ 30.5 .5	Sundry indescribable symbols.	<i>Swastika</i> opening r., with 'taurines' at the extremities.
38	"	Æ 47 .5	Ditto.	Ditto; thick coin (Nos. 36-38 are in very shallow relief).
39	"	Æ 15.5 .36	Indistinct marks.	Incised rectangle. (Perhaps should be classed as 'punch-marked'.)
40	I.M.	Æ 54.5 .67 x .5	Rude solar symbol of boss and crescents.	Blank; very rough.
41	A.S.B.	Æ 13.6 .64 x .4	Lion standing l., facing tree; <i>swastika</i> above.	Elephant l., facing post; doubtful traces of legend above; (?) Taxila; thin coin.

II. ANONYMOUS CIRCULAR CAST COINS,

PROBABLY ALL BEFORE 200 A. D.

Copper

(1) *CHAITYA and elephant type* (C. A. I., Pl. I, 25)

1	I.M.	Æ 47 .55	Three-arched <i>chaitya</i> , with crescent above.	Elephant l.
2	"	Æ 33.7 .55	Ditto.	Ditto.
3	A.S.B.	Æ 37.3 .55	Ditto.	Ditto.
4	"	Æ 34 .55	Ditto.	Ditto.
5	"	Æ 28.8 .52	Ditto.	Ditto.
6	I.M.	Æ 13.6 .47	Ditto.	Ditto (Pl. XXIII, 3).
7	"	Æ — .5	Ditto.	Ditto; two coins joined by bar left in casting.
8	"	Æ 26 .55	Ditto.	Elephant r.

(2) *CHAITYA and bull type* (C. A. I., Pl. I, 26)

9	I.M.	Æ 63 .65	Three-arched <i>chaitya</i> , with crescent above; a 'taurine' symbol on each side.	Large-horned bull r.; <i>triskelis</i> above.
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(3) *CHAITYA and lion type* (C. A. I., Pl. I, 27)

10	I.M.	Æ 63.8 .6	Three-arched <i>chaitya</i> , with crescent and 'taurines', as in bull type.	Lion moving l. towards triangular-headed symbol.
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Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
11	I.M.	Æ 67.1 .57	Ditto.	Ditto.
12	"	Æ 73.2 .57	Ditto.	Ditto.
13	"	Æ 53 .57	Ditto.	Ditto.
14	"	Æ 16.8 .45	Ditto.	Ditto.
15	"	Æ 23.5 .53	Ditto.	Lion r.
(4) <i>Various</i>				
16	A.S.B.	Æ 91 .7	Rayed sun.	Quadruped l.; much worn.
17	"	Æ 68 .65	Ditto.	Quadruped r.; ditto.
18	I.M.	Æ 37.5 .55	Six-spoked wheel.	Obscure.
19	"	Æ brass 66 .76	Rayed sun above low enclosure.	Bull r.; very rough.
20	"	Æ 64 .7	Tree in railing; square cross, &c.	Elephant l.; solar symbol; <i>chaitya</i> , and triangular-headed symbol.
21	A.S.B.	Æ 14 .47	Tree in railing, as on coins of Kōsam; 'Ujjain symbol' r.	Blank.
22	"	Æ 27.7 .55	Humped bull l.	(?) Antelope r.; corroded.
23	I.M.	Æ 23.8 .47	Three-arched <i>chaitya</i> .	Quadruped l.
24	"	Æ oval 29.3 .75 × .5	A curious object in high relief.	(?) Bull's face (Pl. XXIII, 4).

III. APPARENTLY DIE-STRUCK, NOT INSCRIBED

Silver

1	I.M.	Æ 22.7 .4	Quadruped (? horse) r.	Blank.
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
Copper or brass

2	A.S.B.	Æ square 58.3 .67	Solar symbol consisting of boss with broad arrow-heads and crescents, in incuse made by circular die.	<i>Svastika</i> with curved limbs (? Ujjain).
3	I.M.	Æ square 17 .42	'Ujjain symbol' of four circles without connecting cross; (?) lion; struck by circular die.	Quadruped l., facing a post (? Ujjain).

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
4	I.M.	Æ 14 .42	Three-arched <i>chaitya</i> with crescent.	'Taurine' (seems to be die-struck).
5	A.S.B.	Æ 71.8 .78	'Taurine' in small incuse; rest blank.	Apparently blank; worn.
6	I.M.	Æ hexagonal 47.2 .87	Central hollow dot or cup-mark surrounded by six others similar.	Apparently blank.
7	"	Æ hexagonal 60.8 .75	Ditto.	Ditto.
8	"	Æ hexagonal 17.5 .35 x .45	Similar, with incised rays connecting the marks.	Ditto.
9	"	Æ 49.5 .73	Trident with curved sides.	Cross in wheel (? Taxila).
10	"	Æ 27.9 .67	Similar.	Star with curved rays filling the field (? Taxila); worn.
11	A.S.B.	Æ brass 45.2 .7	Sun with numerous rays filling the field.	Same as obv.; (?) traces of legend; worn smooth.
12	I.M.	Æ 85.5 .85	Lion standing r.	Humped bull standing r.; worn.
13	"	Æ 32 .62	Tree in railing; 'taurine', &c.	Elephant moving r. (? Audumbara).
14	"	Æ 67.7 .7	Elephant r., very rude.	Obscure lines; worn.
<i>Lead</i>				
15	I.M.	L. 56 .54	Convex, with obscure indescrivable mark.	Flat, with obscure lines.
16	"	L. 63.2 .58	Similar.	Similar.
17	"	L. 60.5 .55	Ditto.	Ditto.
18	"	L. 54.5 .55	Ditto.	Ditto.
19	"	L. 47 .57	Ditto.	Ditto.
20	"	L. 53 .52	Ditto.	Ditto.
21	"	L. 43.5 .45	Ditto.	Ditto.

IV. INSCRIBED, CIRCULAR, VARIOUS, MOSTLY DIE-STRUCK

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
<i>Copper or brass</i>				
(1) <i>Various</i>				
1	A.S.B.	Æ 84.5 .7	In circular incuse, tree in railing, triangular-headed symbol r.; 'Ujjain symbol'; below in Br. of about 200 B. C. <i>Brahma-mitasa</i> , '[Coin] of Brahmamitra.'	Tree-like symbol in railing; (?) Kōsam (Pl. XXIII, 5).
2	"	Æ brass 64 .77	In square incuse, tree in railing l.; 'Ujjain symbol' in centre; triangular-headed symbol r.; below in Br. of about 200 B. C. (<i>Go</i>) <i>mitasa</i> , '[Coin] of Gomitra.'	Tree in railing and traces of Br. legend beginning with <i>Gomi</i> in shallow square incuse; allied to No. 1 (Pl. XXIII, 6).
3	I.M.	Æ 32.5 .6	In oblong incuse, early Br. legend, <i>Jyeshthadatta</i> [va], or possibly, <i>dattasya</i> .	Traces of elephant standing r.; resembles some of the early Mālava coins; see <i>Reports</i> , XXII, 115 (Pl. XXIII, 7).
4	A.S.B.	Æ 50.8 .75	Humped bull standing r.; below, early Br. legend, <i>Kavirasa</i> ; below, <i>jaya</i> , reversed; and (?) a character; 'Victory to Kavira'; raised rim.	Defaced (unpublished) (Pl. XXIII, 8).
5	"	Æ brass 81.3 .65	Solar symbol, two trees in railings, 'Ujjain symbol,' &c.; above in early Br., <i>mitasa</i> or <i>shātasa</i> .	Open lotus flower; thick coin.
6	I.M.	Æ 24 .45	Tree in railing; snake on end, r.	Bull l. (?) Kōsam or Ajo-dhyā).
7	A.S.B.	Æ 24.4 .52	Peculiar object springing from railing; Br. <i>na</i> r.	Asokan <i>ja</i> (?) (Pl. XXIII, 9).
8	"	Æ oval 71.7 .85 × .75	Tree in railing and other obscure symbols; Br. legend l., apparently <i>chija</i> .	Lion r.; railing above, and traces of marginal Br. legend (Pl. XXIII, 10).
9	"	Æ 3.7 .35	Large characters, which look like <i>charāja</i> , or <i>charāju</i> .	Br. <i>la</i> in centre of field (Pl. XXIII, 11).
10	"	Æ 61.7 .53	In circular incuse, tree in railing; obscure Br. marginal legend including <i>yana</i> , (?) <i>traya nāgasa</i> .	Lion standing r.; disk above.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
11	A.S.B.	Æ 53.1 .55	Similar to No. 10. Legend, <i>ratha yana-gicham[i]ta[sa]</i> (?).	Lion standing r.; square (? <i>ba</i>) over his back; marginal legend in large character, <i>ya</i> (Pl. XXIII, 12).
12	I.M.	Æ 24.3 .55	Tree in railing l.; thunderbolt (<i>vajra</i>) r.; traces of marginal legend.	Tree in railing, and obscure symbols; marginal Br. legend, (?) <i>gabhemanapa</i> (or <i>-ha</i>), of which <i>bha</i> and <i>na</i> are certain (Pl. XXIII, 13).
13	„	Æ imperfect .5	Thunderbolt (<i>vajra</i>) in centre, standing figure r.; Br. legend l., (?) <i>mabhada</i> , or (?) <i>mitasa</i> .	Peculiar symbol (Pl. XXIII, 14).
14	„	Æ oval 15.9 6 × .5	Tree in railing; Br. <i>na</i> legible.	Three-arched <i>chaitya</i> with large ornament on top.
15	A.S.B.	Æ 17 .47	Peculiar symbol; traces of Br. marginal legend.	Bull standing l.; thin coin; worn.
16	I.M.	Æ 24.7 .45	Bull l.; traces of legend below.	Obscure symbol.
17	„	Æ 17.3 .4	<i>Dephā</i> in large early Br., filling field,  ; worn.	Blank (? <i>Mālava</i>).
18	„	Æ 22 .4	Uncertain large characters.	Quadruped l.; corroded.
19	„	Æ 20.5 .57	Branching tree in railing; to l., early Br. <i>napa</i> (or <i>-sa</i>).	Obscure, (?) lion r.; thin coin, possibly Audumbara; in bad condition.
20	„	Æ 20 .37	Uncertain.	Uncertain (antiquity doubtful).

(2) *With legend, DEVASA, probably of Kōsam*

1	I.M.	Æ brass 29.7 .55	Tree in railing, as on Kōsam coins; below, in early Br., [<i>De</i>] <i>vasa</i> ; l. of tree a character, seemingly the ancient 20, and r., 7; all in square incuse.	Rude bull, apparently l.; probably cast (Pl. XXIII, 15).
2	„	Æ brass 20 .5	Similar; but the figure to l. of tree is looped, and seems to be 6; all in incuse.	Bull r.; cast.
3	„	Æ brass 35.6 .6	Similar; no figure to r.; that l. seems to be 20 as on No. 1; legend imperfect.	Ditto.
4	„	Æ brass 26 .46	Ditto; ditto; <i>Deva</i> .	Elephant standing r. (Pl. XXIII, 16).

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
5	I.M.	Æ brass 16.5 .45	Ditto; characters beside tree illegible; <i>Devasa</i> ; no incuse.	Bull r.; defaced.
6	A.S.B.	Æ brass 64.8 .76	Square frame with low railing as base, enclosing legend <i>Devasa</i> in large letters, and above, an altar-like object.	Ditto; uncertain object above; worn smooth on both sides.
7	„	Æ brass 74 .67	Similar; legend mostly lost; a stumpy tree above; the figure 7 to r., figure to l. wanting.	Bull r.; protuberance left in casting.
8	„	Æ brass 68.5 .67	Ditto; ditto; ditto.	Bull r.; five-branched object (? tree) above; hammered edges apparently.

SECTION XI

THE ĀNDHRA DYNASTY

INTRODUCTION

THE authorities for the obscure history of the Āndhra Dynasty were critically examined in my articles entitled 'Andhra History and Coinage' (*Z. D. M. G.* for 1902 and 1903), and have again been discussed briefly in my 'Early History of India', and in the Introduction to Professor Rapson's British Museum Catalogue of the Āndhra coins, the proofs of which I have had the privilege of perusing. In this place a few words on the subject will suffice.

The dynasty seems to have attained independence soon after the death of Aśoka, which occurred in 232 or 231 B.C., and it lasted for some four centuries and a half up to about 236 A.D. At a very early period the Āndhra kings made themselves a great power, and extended their authority across India along the course of the Godāvarī from its mouth on the shores of the Bay of Bengal to its source in the mountains of the Western Ghāts. Southwards their dominion was carried into the northern parts of Mysore, and northwards, perhaps, as far as the Narbadā. There is not any reason, so far as I know, for supposing that any part of India to the north of that river ever came under Āndhra sovereignty.

But the coins of the dynasty are Northern rather than Southern in type, and, in fact, have nothing in common with the peculiar coinage of the South. The known extant coins almost all belong to the later kings. The earliest sovereign whose issues are represented in this catalogue is Sivalakura, son of Mātharī (about 85–113 A.D.). The collection does not include any example of the coins of his predecessor, Viḷivāyakura I, who is credited with a reign of six months only in 84 or 85 A.D.; but it contains two good specimens of the issue of Sivalakura's successor, Viḷivāyakura II, son of Gautamī (about 113–38 A.D.). These three princes emitted a peculiar 'bow and arrow' type of coinage, which is found, so far as is known, only at Kolhāpur in the Bombay Presidency. The Āndhra kings had a special partiality for lead as a material for currency, and most of their extant coins are in that metal. Only three specimens of their silver coinage have been discovered, and evidently it was extremely limited in amount. Next to lead they favoured a curious alloy of copper, which Professor Rapson calls 'potin'. A large hoard of these 'potin' coins was found some years ago at

Chāndā in the Central Provinces, and most of the specimens in museums come from that hoard (*Proc. A. S. B.*, 1893, p. 117).¹ The potin coins are cast; the lead coins seem usually to be die-struck, although the blanks may have been cast. The small leaden coins are exceedingly rude, and, perhaps, were wholly cast. The coinage, as a whole, is devoid of all beauty or artistic merit, and is interesting, primarily, as a document of dynastic history, and secondarily, on account of its peculiar materials.

The leaden coins from the Kṛishṇā (Kistna) and Godāvārī Districts, and other southern and eastern parts of the Āndhra empire, exhibit a considerable variety in their rude devices. The reverse most commonly used is the so-called 'Ujjain symbol', familiar on the punch-marked coins and other early issues of Northern India. The favourite obverse type is a rough delineation of an elephant, but the horse, lion, and, perhaps, other animals also occur. The 'ship' coins are not represented in this catalogue. The most extensive issues belong to the reign of Yajña Śrī (about 184–213 A.D.) and the next in number to that of Puḷumāvi or Puḷumāyi (about 138–70 A.D.). The name which formerly was read as Vada really is, as Professor Rapson points out, Chaḍa (*Chāmda*, *Chandra*) on the coins. The catalogue includes only one example of his coinage (about 219–29 A.D.). Many of the coins have no legends, and it is impossible to assign them with certainty. Now that attention has been directed prominently to the subject, collectors in the old Āndhra dominions may be expected to add largely to our present very imperfect knowledge of Āndhra numismatics.

CATALOGUE

RĀJĀ SIVALAKURA, SON OF MĀTHARĪ, ABOUT 85–113 A.D.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
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*Lead**Bow and arrow type*

1	A.S.B.	L. 234.2 1.28	Bow, with string downwards, fitted with arrow pointing upwards; marginal Br. legend, beginning at tip of arrow, <i>Raño Mā-dhariputasa Sivalakurasa</i> ; almost wholly defaced.	<i>Chaitya</i> of four tiers surmounted by a crescent, standing together with a tree on r., within a railing ornamented with scroll and dots; mostly defaced by corrosion.
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¹ For bibliography of Āndhra coinage see *Z. D. M. G.*, 1908, p. 606.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
2	A.S.B.	L. 227 1.38	As No. 1; much defaced.	As No. 1, but wholly defaced. (Both coins from Kolhāpur, Gibbs.)

RĀJĀ VILIVĀYAKURA (II), SON OF GAUTAMĪ, ABOUT 113-38 A. D.

1	A.S.B.	L. 205.7 1.2	Similar to coins of Sivalakura. Legend, <i>Raño Gotamiputasa Vilivāyakurasa</i> .	Similar to coins of Sivalakura, but <i>svastika</i> in place of crescent (Pl. XXIII, 17).
2	„	L. 176.7 1.2	Ditto; in good condition.	Ditto; good. (Both coins from Kolhāpur, Gibbs.)

RĀJĀ PUḶUMĀVI (PUḶUMĀYI), SON OF VĀSISHTHĪ,
ABOUT 138-70 A. D.

*Copper (? potin)*¹

Type; elephant r., trunk hanging down

1	A.S.B.	Æ 28.5 .67	Elephant r., with rider (<i>mahaut</i>) on neck; marginal Br. legend, [Si]r[i]- <i>Puḷumāv[isa]</i> .	'Ujjain symbol', with plain orbs (Pl. XXIII, 18).
2	„	Æ 42.5 .7	Ditto; ditto; <i>Siri Puḷu</i> .	Ditto; pellet in orb.
3	„	Æ 40.3 .7	Ditto; rider not visible; <i>Siri Puḷum</i> .	Ditto; ditto.
4	„	Æ broken .76	Ditto; rider; [Pu]ḷuma- <i>v[i]sa</i> .	Ditto; ditto.

DOUBTFUL; NAME LOST; (?) PUḶUMĀVI

Copper (potin)

Elephant r., trunk hanging down

5	A.S.B.	Æ 29.6 .78	Elephant r., tail down; driver on neck; <i>Satakan</i> (<i>Śātakarṇi</i>) legible.	'Ujjain symbol', a pellet in each orb.
6	I.M.	Æ 34 .65	Similar; <i>Sari sataka</i> (<i>Śrī Śātakarṇi</i>).	Ditto.
7	A.S.B.	Æ 38 .72	Similar; <i>takanisa</i> .	Ditto.
8	„	Æ 41.3 .73	Similar; legend lost.	Ditto.

¹ Professor Rapson believes the metal of these coins to be 'potin', an impure alloy composed of yellow and red copper, tin, lead, and diverse washings and cinders (*J. R. A. S.*, 1908, p. 304). All the 'potin' coins catalogued seem to be part of the Chāndā hoard. They are cast, not struck. The legends of the Andhra coins are in Prakṛit; *Siri*=Sanskrit *Śrī*, and so forth. In the headings the Sanskrit forms are given.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
<i>Elephant r., with trunk uplifted</i> ¹				
9	A.S.B.	Æ 35.5	Similar; driver visible; <i>takanisa</i> ; well preserved.	Ditto.
10	"	Æ 33	Similar; driver not visible; <i>takanisa</i> .	Ditto.
11	I.M.	Æ 39.4	Similar; driver's leg visible; <i>sataka</i> .	Ditto.
12	"	Æ 34.2	Similar; driver visible; legend jumbled, as if double struck; it is <i>sata raña nisa</i> — parts of the words <i>raño sātakanisa</i> .	Ditto; no pellet visible.
13	"	Æ 39.8	Similar; legend lost.	Ditto; pellet.
14	A.S.B.	Æ 44.8	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.

Elephant l.

15	I.M.	Æ 9.6	Elephant l., very rude; a symbol above.	'Ujjain symbol' of peculiar form; each orb having two concentric circles with central pellet. ²
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*Lead**Elephant r.*

16	A.S.B.	L. 37	Rude elephant r.; traces of legend above.	'Ujjain symbol', apparently plain.
17	"	L. 49.8	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
18	"	L. 35.7	Ditto; ditto; <i>sa</i> legible.	Ditto.
19	"	L. 49.9	Ditto; three pellets above.	Ditto; pellets; curved marks on margin.
20	"	L. 40	Ditto; X above.	Ditto; apparently plain.
21	"	L. 29.7	Ditto; nothing above.	Nine pellets or dots.
22	"	L. 39.3	Ditto; ditto.	Apparently plain 'Ujjain symbol'; curved marks on margin.
23	I.M.	L. 39.7	Ditto; very rude.	'Ujjain symbol', apparently plain.
24	"	L. 35.8	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
25	"	L. 30.3	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; pellet.

¹ Some specimens of this variety bear the name of Puḷumāvi (Rapson, *Catal.*, p. 21).² For coins of Puḷumāvi with this form of 'Ujjain symbol', see Rapson, *Catal.*, p. 20.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
<i>Elephant l.</i>				
26	A.S.B.	L. 45.3 -55	Rude elephant l.; traces of legend above.	'Ujjain symbol', apparently plain, but the orbs connected by outer lines.
27	I.M.	L. 30.2 -55	Ditto.	'Ujjain symbol' of large plain orbs, no lines.
28	A.S.B.	L. 37 -53	Ditto; traces of legend.	Ditto; ditto.
29	"	L. 55.5 -58	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; with thick cross-lines.

RĀJĀ YAJÑA ŚRĪ, SON OF GAUTAMĪ, ABOUT 184-213 A. D.

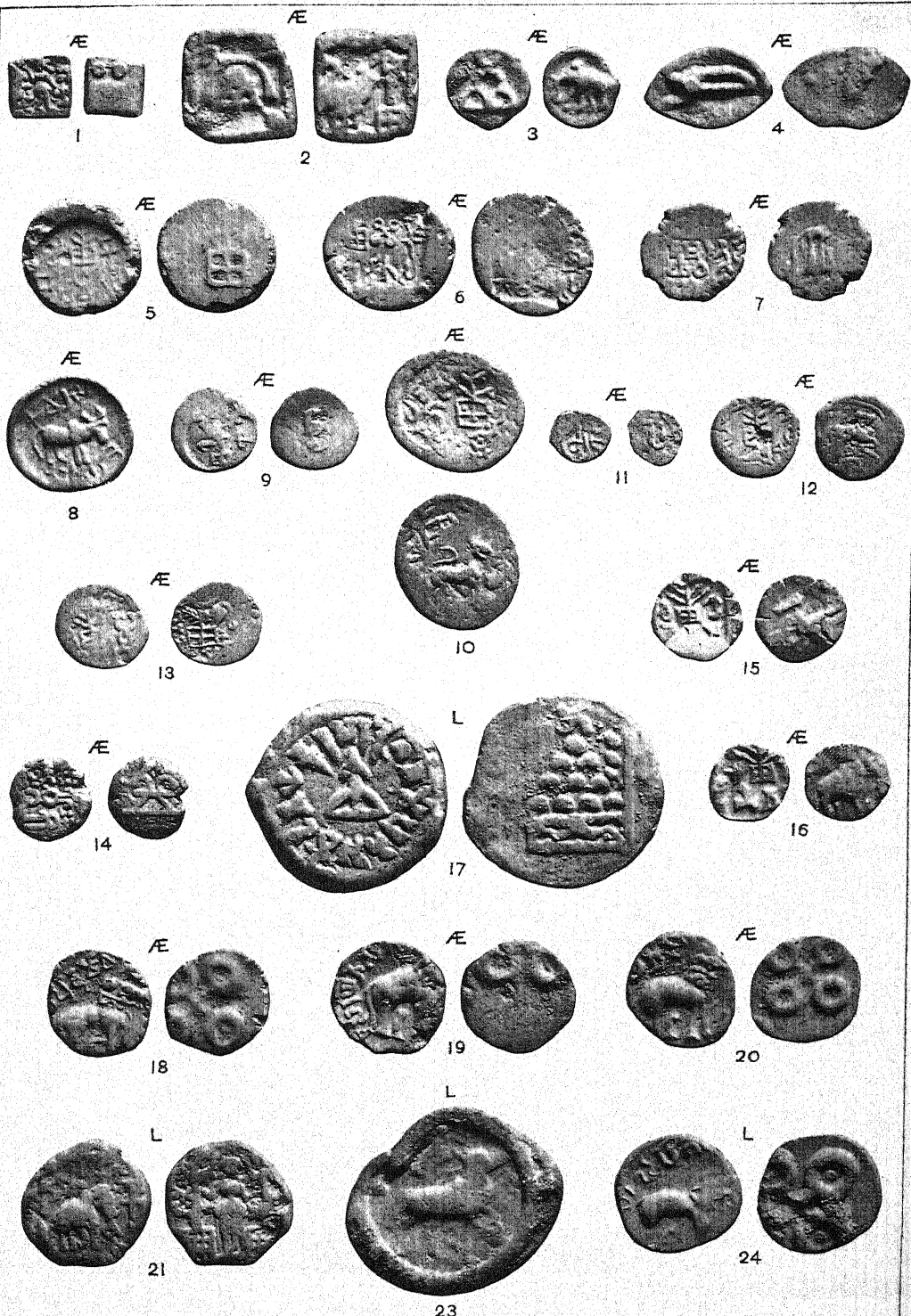
Copper (potin)

Elephant r.

1	I.M.	Æ 40 -67	Elephant r. Legend, <i>Sari Yaña sata (Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi)</i> .	'Ujjain symbol', defaced (Pl. XXIII, 19).
2	A.S.B.	Æ 31 -7	Ditto; driver visible; <i>Yaña sa.</i>	Ditto; plain, well preserved (Pl. XXIII, 20).
3	I.M.	Æ 48.8 -8	Ditto; driver not visible; <i>Sari śātakarṇi.</i>	Ditto; pellets (may belong to Puḷumāvi).
4	A.S.B.	Æ broken -7	Ditto; ditto; <i>sara Yaña sa.</i>	Ditto; plain.
5	"	Æ 45.6 -67	Ditto; ditto; <i>sara Yaña sata.</i>	Ditto; ditto.
6	I.M.	Æ 34.6 -65	Ditto; <i>ña sa.</i>	Ditto; pellets.
7	"	Æ 29.7 -7	Ditto; <i>Yaña sa.</i>	Ditto; defaced.
8	"	Æ 40.2 -65	Ditto; <i>Yaña.</i>	Ditto; plain.
9	"	Æ broken -65	Ditto; <i>sari Yaña.</i>	Ditto; (?) pellets.
10	A.S.B.	Æ 39.8 -7	Ditto; <i>Yaña.</i>	Ditto; plain.

Lead

11	A.S.B.	L. 97 -75	Elephant standing r., facing a sword-like object; tree, apparently a fan-palm, behind; imperfect legend above seems to be <i>Gotami-putasa</i> , but doubtful.	Goddess standing facing, under canopy; tree in railing on her proper r., and (?) another tree in railing on proper l.; unpublished (Pl. XXIII, 21).
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Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
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DOUBTFUL; PROBABLY YAJÑA ŚRĪ, BUT MAY BE EARLIER¹*Lead**Horse type*

1	A.S.B.	L.	126 1.01	Horse standing r., with disk in front; three-pointed symbol above; legend lost.	<i>Chaitya</i> and tree (?) on base, with scroll ornament as on 'bow and arrow' type; much corroded.
2	"	L.	176 1.01	Similar.	Defaced.
3	"	L.	176 1.03	Ditto.	Ditto.
4	"	L.	150 .92	Ditto.	Ditto.

RĀJĀ CHAMDA, ABOUT 219-29 A. D.

Copper (potin)

1	I.M.	Æ	50 .75	Elephant r. Legend imperfect, <i>sar[i]</i> <i>Chada sata-kani</i> .	'Ujjain symbol' in high relief, with pellets (Pl. XXIII, 22).
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UNASSIGNED

*Lead**Type; elephant l.*

1	A.S.B.	L.	21.3 .5	Rude elephant l.	<i>Chaitya</i> surmounted by crescent.
2	"	L.	28.5 .45	Ditto; apparently <i>ya</i> above (? <i>Yaña</i>).	Ditto.

Type; lion l.

3	A.S.B.	L.	27.2 .48	Lion springing l.	(?) 'Ujjain symbol.'
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Type; (?) antelope

4	A.S.B.	L.	177.2 1.27	Quadruped (? horned, ? antelope) r.; no trace of legend.	Defaced. The coin has a wide rim (Pl. XXIII, 23).
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¹ Certain 'horse type' coins belong to Yajña Śrī (Rea, Nos. 27, 40, 41, Pl. XII, *South Indian Buddhist Antiquities*).

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